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WHY SHOULD WE CHANGE OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT?

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BY

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PRESIDENT OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

BEFORE THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF ST. LOUIS

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WHY SHOULD WE CHANGE OUR FORM OF GOVERNMENT?

Mr. President and Gentlemen: It is a sincere pleasure to find myself back again in St. Louis and privileged to speak to the members of this club. You will forgive me for saying that in the presence of so many old and valued friends I feel very much at home.

In response to the invitation of your committee, I have ventured to suggest a rather serious subject for discussion. It is one which does not easily lend itself to flights of after-dinner oratory or to that flow of wit and humor which we all so much enjoy. I have selected this serious subject because I know that this club is composed of thoughtful and reflective men, of men who busy themselves with matters of high import in the life of our Nation; and it is my strong belief that the question which I venture to put is one which every intelligent American ought to be asking himself at this time: Why should we change our form of government?

We have been reminded of late that it is a full half century since the beginning of that outbreak which threatened the existence of our Nation as it had been built by the fathers. As we look back now, at least those of us who are too young to have participated in that mighty struggle, who are too young to have known of it save by hearsay, we can see and understand that the American Civil War was an attack made upon the Government of the United States by strong and determined men animated by what they seriously believed to be sound principle and deep conviction. They made their appeal to the supreme tribunal of physical force, and they lost their cause. To-day every American is glad that that cause, however splendid, was lost, and that the Government founded by the fathers was perpetuated, let us hope for all time.

But now in the short interval of a generation since that great struggle closed there is under way a persistent, determined, and highly intelligent attempt to change our form of government. This attempt is making while we are speaking about it. It presents itself in many persuasive and seductive forms. It uses attractive formulas to which men like to give adhesion; but if it is successful it will bring to an end the form of government that was founded when our Constitution was made and that we and our fathers and our grandfathers have known and gloried in.

To put the matter bluntly, there is under way in the United States at the present time a definite and determined movement to change our representative Republic into a socialistic democracy. That attempt, carried on by men of conviction, men of sincerity, men of honest purpose, men of patriotism, as they conceive patriotism, is the most impressive political factor in our public life of to-day. In my judgment it transcends all possible differences between the historic parties; it takes precedence of all problems of a business, a financial, or an economic character, however pressing, for it strikes at the very root of the Government of the United States and the principles upon which that Government rests. It strikes at the very root of the institutions that we call Anglo-Saxon, and it proclaims a failure that great movement for the establishment of liberty under law, controlled and carried on through the institutions of representative government, a movement which had its origin more than 2,000 years ago in the forests of Germany, and which has persisted with constantly growing force and power throughout the history of the English-speaking peoples down to our own day. We are now told that representative government has failed. We are now told that the people are either incompetent or unable to choose representatives who will really serve their highest interests and who will be beyond the reach of the temptation offered by money or power or place. The remedy is said to be to appeal over the heads of the people's chosen representatives to the people themselves.

Let us look for a moment at this proposal and try to understand what it means. I have written down here a sentence or two from the pen of James Madison. When Madison made his contributions to the Federalist he wrote in one place:

"In a democracy the people meet and exercise the government in person; in a republic they assemble and administer it by their representatives and agents."

A little later on he wrote:

"A republic is a government which derives all its powers directly or indirectly from the great body of the people, and is administered by persons holding their offices during pleasure, for a limited period, or during good behavior."

It is clear, therefore, even if these passages from Madison were the only evidence, that the founders of our Government knew and had studied the difference between a representative republic and a direct democracy.

I suppose that never in the history of the world, before or since, has there been displayed so much insight into the principles of government, so much knowledge of the theory and practical workings of the different forms of government, as that which accompanied the formulation and adoption of the Constitution of the United States. Truly, there were giants in those days; and whether we take one view of the meaning of that great document or another makes no difference. The making of the American Constitution was a stupendous achievement of men who through reading, through reflection, through insight, and through practical experience, had fully grasped the significance of the huge task to which they devoted themselves, and who accomplished that task in a way that has excited the admiration of the civilized world. Those men built a representative republic; they knew the history of other forms of government; they knew what had happened in Greece, in Rome, in Venice, and in Florence; they knew what had happened in the history of the making of the modern nations that occupied the continent of Europe. Knowing all this they deliberately, after the most elaborate debate and discussion both of principles and details, produced the result with which we are so familiar.

Let us not suppose, however, even for a moment that that great enterprise had no genesis, no history.

When half-civilized man began to take account of his public concerns he was controlled by a single leader, military in character and in method. That leader was at once executive, lawmaker, and judge. You may read to-day, if you will, in some of the great museums of the world, the laws of ancient oriental peoples carved on stone, and bearing the names of the monarchs who passed them by their edicts. You may, if you choose, review the entire history of the early European forms of government, and you may take note how the emphasis is laid now upon one element of public life, now upon another. At one moment it was the legislature which was exalted, at another it was the executive, at still another it was the military leader. You may see, if you will, the building up of a great world empire under the leadership of Rome; you may watch the breakdown of that Empire, due to forces working in part from within and in part from without; you may see one form after another of absolutism grasping the reins of government over intelligent peoples, longing for a chance to develop trade and commerce; and if you can visualize the map of Europe while all this is going on, you will see on it two bright particular shining spots. The one spot is little Holland, and the other is England. Those two bright spots mark the places where the principles of representative government, based upon the intelligent action of a free people, were at work, and they are the two sources from which our modern world has learned all its great lessons of civil and religious liberty. It was Holland which provided a resting place for the strong men who were sent to find their way across the Atlantic to the shores of Massachusetts Bay. It was England which had developed parliamentary representative institutions to the greatest perfection. From England we learned these lessons, and they have grown long and deeply into the life and thought of the American people. In our great Federal Republic these lessons have been applied, and the principle of representative institutions has been worked out on a scale and with a magnitude that are without parallel in the history of political action.

The governmental changes which are now proposed to the American people are not brought forward as philosophic propositions to be examined and passed upon in principle; they are not brought forward as a complete and conscious program to be debated and discussed by bodies like this, to be compared with the results of the experience and the activities of the past 125 years. These changes are presented to us as specific proposals to be passed upon now here, now there, in the light not of principle but of temporary expediency. In the name of reform or of progress we are asked to give our assent now to this specific proposal, now to that. But, these specific proposals, when taken altogether, when regarded collectively, constitute an invitation to surrender our representative Republic and to build upon the place where it once stood the structure of a socialistic democracy.

It may be, perhaps, that a social democracy is a better form of government than the representative Republic which we now have. It may be, perhaps, that under the institutions of a socialistic democracy mankind would be happier, opportunity more free, property more equally distributed, and the satisfaction of man's wants more easily accomplished than now. All these things may be; but if a socialistic democracy is to be substituted for a representative republic, please do not overlook the fact that it can only be so substituted by revolution. There must first be a revolution in our fundamental political beliefs; there must first be a revolution in our accustomed forms of political action; there must first be a revolution in our point of view, in our ambitions, and in our aspirations.

What are the charges that these revolutionists bring against the representative republic? We are told in the first place that the representative republic fails really and readily to reflect public opinion; that these representative institutions easily become the prey of the self-seeker, of the special interest, of the wirepuller, of the schemer, of the man who would use the public for his own personal advancement or enrichment; and that, therefore, they must be uprooted, overturned, and destroyed. We are told, in other words, that after not only 125 years of our own experience, but after 500 years of the experience of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, these representative institutions have failed, and that in the name of progress we must pass on to a direct democracy. We are told that we should begin by so shackling representative institutions that they must respond at once, mechanically, and with precision to the expressed wish or the expressed emotions of a majority of the voting population at any given instant, regardless of the fundamental constitutional guarantees of civil and political liberty. We are told that if we do this we shall restore government to a purely democratic form, that we shall make it responsive to the public will and to public opinion, and that every legitimate public and private interest will thereby be promoted. Surely this is an ambitious program.

Before we give our assent to it, however, suppose we examine for a moment the point of view and the contentions of those who are the mouthpieces of this revolutionary movement. We are justified in asking in the first place whether the attempt to substitute a direct democracy for a representative republic is progressive or reactionary. It is the history of all evolutionary processes that for particular purposes special organs are developed; for particular activities special instrumentalities are produced; and in developing any truly forward movement we proceed from the simple to the complex. In organic evolution the process is one away from the gelatinous and formless mass of the lower organisms to the exceedingly complex structure of the higher mammals. Obviously, then, it is at an earlier stage of evolution when one organism or instrumentality performs all functions, when one organism or instrumentality carries on government in all its forms, as well as those economic activities which result in providing clothing, shelter, and food. As we develop, however, and as we progress, we differentiate; we throw out feelers, as it were; we develop special organisms and instrumentalities, social as well as individual; and these divide among themselves the economic, industrial, and the governmental functions of the social unit. In this way we get a division of labor; in this way we get a specialization of function. A really progressive movement, therefore, is a movement toward differentiation, toward complexity, toward specialization of structure and function. The movement toward the perfecting of representative government is progressive; a movement away from representative government, a movement that would shackle and limit it, and that would appeal from representative institutions to direct democracy, is reactionary.

It may be said of the amœba that it walks on its stomach and digests with its legs, because it digests with what it walks with, and walks with what it digests with. As yet there has been no differentiation of structure or function. But the amœba, with its very simple structure, is certainly not in advance of the mammal with its highly organized structure, its differentiation of function, and its many complicated activities. The movement to substitute direct democracy for representative government is a movement back from the age of the mammal to the age of the amœba. Such a movement may have merits of its own, but they can not be the merits which we attach to genuine progress. It would be just as appropriate to organize a movement, in the name of a progressive democracy, to cut our own clothes and to make our own shoes, when tailors and shoemakers are unsatisfactory, as to assume for the people as a whole the political duties which belong to representative bodies of officials, because these do not in every case do just what we should like. To take a backward step from specialization of structure and of function must not be defended as progressive; it is as reactionary as anything in the whole field of social evolution can possibly be. It is to return from the age of the mammal to the age of the amœba. Of course it is conceivable that such a movement backward is desirable; but if so, let us at least call it by its right name.

We began in this country to break down the safeguards and to weaken the fundamental principles of representative institutions some years ago, and in two different ways. We began to break them down when in many of our State constitutions, indeed in nearly all of them, we departed from the sound principles of constitution making and filled these important documents full of what really should have been statutory legislation.

The strength and vitality of the Constitution of the United States are found in the fact that it expresses in a few words general principles which are susceptible of interpretation and of adaptation to different needs and conditions. It is for this reason, and for this reason alone, that the Constitution has been maintained and sustained, substantially without change so far as governmental structure is concerned, for a century and a quarter of most unexpected and unimagined developments. A written constitution is a device to protect man's sober and mature political judgment from his fleeting political passions and prejudices. The moment that you write into fundamental law a definite and precise statement of momentary political feeling in regard to some matter of governmental detail, that moment you have broken down the distinction which should exist between a constitution and a statute. A constitution should contain only those guaranties of civil and political liberty which underlie our whole organized society, and also make carefully drawn grants of power to legislative, executive, and judicial officers, as well as those major political determinations that persist, and are persisted in, through changes of party and of political creed. Of course, no constitution is permanent and unamendable, for even fundamental principles take on new aspects with changes of circumstance. Nevertheless, if our American Government is to endure, we must acknowledge and maintain the broad distinction which exists between the making of a constitution and the enactment of a statute.

In many of our States, particularly in those which have been organized in recent years, the so-called constitutions are an odd and curious medley of genuine constitutional principles and a host of statutes. It is not proper to include in a State constitution provision for the specific location of a State university; it is not proper to include in a State constitution the amount of compensation to be paid annually to the State auditor; it is not proper to include in a State constitution any one of the hundreds of merely incidental details of government that it is now fashionable to put upon the same plane with vitually important expressions of fundamental political principle.

The results of this confusion between a constitution and a statute are most unhappy. If, for example, it is desired to change the location of a State university or to increase the salary of the State auditor, the constitution must be amended. If it can be so easily amended in one particular, why not in all others? At that moment the fundamental political guaranties have lost their sacredness and are reduced to the same plane of mere expediency as the location of the State university and the amount of the auditor's salary.

We departed and we departed widely and far in this country from the sound principles of constitution making when, at first under the influence of the movement of 1848 in Europe and later under the influence of the various compromises and personal ambitions which entered into the making of some of the newer States, we began to turn the fundamental law of our various Commonwealths into a huge collection of statutory details. In so doing we have confused the public understanding of what a constitution really is, and we have opened the door to every form of experimentation with our fundamental principles on the same basis as perfectly proper experimentation with the merest details of our whole legislative and political activity.

Then, in the second place, we began the destruction of the fundamental principles of representative government in this country when, under the lash of party, we reduced the representative to a mere delegate; when we began, as is now quite commonly the case, to instruct a representative as to what he is to do when elected; when we began to pledge him in advance of his election that, if chosen, he will do certain things and oppose others—in other words, when we reduced the representative from the high, splendid, and dignified status of a real representative chosen by his constituency to give it his experience, his brains, his conscience, and his best service, and made him a mere registering machine for the opinion of the moment, whatever it might happen to be.

On this point there is a classic expression which every student of government knows and knows well. It is to be found in the address made by Edmund Burke to the electors at Bristol, in which he expresses in words that are never to be forgotten the real duty of a representative to those who have chosen him. Let me read what Burke said:

"It ought to be the happiness and glory of a representative to live in the strictest union, the closest correspondence, and the most unreserved communication with his constituents. Their wishes ought to have great weight with him; their opinions high respect; their business unremitted attention; but his unbiased opinion, his mature judgment, his enlightened conscience, he ought not to sacrifice to you, to any man, or to any set of men living. Your representative owes you not his industry only but his judgment; and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion. You choose a representative indeed, but when he is chosen he is not a member of Bristol, but a member of Parliament."

We may say, substantially in Burke's phrase, that when we choose a Member of the House of Representatives he is not a Member of the first district of New York or of Pennsylvania or of Ohio or of Missouri, but he is a Member of the Congress of the United States.

But we are told that this form of democracy is not satisfactory; it is not possible with these processes and on these principles to accomplish things that some people want to have accomplished. We find, it is said, that our Representatives are getting out of our control; they do not do what we tell them. Of course, they come back after two years or four years and submit themselves to their constituents for judgment, but think of the mischief they can do in these two years or these four years which can not be undone speedily, if at all. Therefore we are told we must change our form of government and put the entire democracy in direct control of every governmental process.

It is not necessary for those of us who believe in a representative republic to say that it has no shortcomings. It is not necessary for us to take up the position that everything goes on in a way which is beyond criticism. We need not do that. We must look the facts in the face. We should admit the limitations of ourselves and of other human beings; we know the deficiencies and defects that constantly present themselves in our governmental administration, whether National, State, or municipal. But suppose we ask ourselves this question: Need we destroy fundamental principles to correct temporary infelicities? Need we pull up our institutions by the roots because they do not grow quite fast enough to please us? These are the questions which the American people have got to answer, and which many of them are to-day ready to answer by saying, "Let us destroy our fundamental principles; let us pull up our institutions by the roots in order to see why they do not grow faster."

The proposition to substitute a direct democracy for a representative republic has some features that are serious and some that are amusing. We are told, for instance, to look at the town meeting and see what a splendid institution the town meeting has been in New England. Imagine a town meeting in Chicago. Imagine bringing together on the third Tuesday in March, in one corner of the prairies of Illinois, the entire voting population of Chicago in order to submit to them the questions which are submitted to the town meetings of the sparsely-settled hill towns of New England. Is it not ridiculous? Of course. Why is it ridiculous? Because it is an endeavor to apply a principle sound in itself under circumstances where it can not possibly work. It is an attempt to arrive by a purely logical process at a political rule of action without taking into account the facts and considerations of a particular case. The moment you ask yourself why it is ridiculous to govern Chicago by a town meeting, and find that it is, that moment you ought to be ready to understand why representative institutions grew up among English-speaking peoples and why they have continued to exist to the present day. But the objector says: "I grant that you can not have a town meeting in the case of Chicago; that must be given up as impracticable; but there is something else that we can do. We can retain our representative institutions, but so limit them and so shackle their operations that we retain for ourselves the right to initiate legislation and the right to veto any legislation that our representatives may see fit to pass."

Examine for a moment these suggestions in order to see what they really mean and to what they really lead. In the first place, please do not overlook the exceedingly important fact that all those who are uniting to urge upon us this transformation of our form of government invariably propose to put these instrumentalities of a direct democracy into operation upon the initiative of a very small fraction of the electorate. What a glorious time it would be for the perpetual disturbers of political peace! It is proposed, for instance, that 5 per cent or 8 per cent of the electorate shall be sufficient to initiate legislation and to demand a poll of the people thereon. Legislation so initiated can not be amended or perfected in form. It can not be examined in committee, its sponsors can not be cross-questioned; it must be taken or left precisely as they project it into the political arena. Is there any community in the world where 5 per cent of the adult males can not be gotten to sign a petition for anything? Is there any community in the world where if 5 per cent of the adult males had petitioned for something that had been denied, they could not be gotten to petition for it again without delay? Would not life under this system become one long series of elections? Should we not be chasing each other to the polls once a week to pass upon some new legislative proposal, and not always one presented by the wisest and most thoughtful of our citizens? What would be the effect of all this on the members of our legislative bodies, National and State? Are the best men in your community going to accept nomination and election to a legislative body any one of whose acts, however carefully formulated, may be brought up for review and possibly overturned on the initiative of 5 per cent of the voting population? We complain that we do not always get the men we would most like to see in the State and National legislatures. Should we get a better class of representatives, or worse, if we took away their sense of responsibility, took away their dignity and authority, and set ourselves up on every side to duplicate or possibly to overturn their every act? There is only one possible answer to that question. We should degrade our legislative bodies and reduce them to intellectual, moral, and political impotence.

Of all the proposals that have been brought forward in the name of direct democracy, the initiative is the most preposterous, and the most vicious. It is far more objectionable than the referendum, which is ordinarily bracketed with it, because it is intended to project a legislative proposal upon the community at the instigation of a very small number of people, which proposal must then be passed upon without amendment; without any opportunity to perfect it, even in phraseology; without any chance to receive and act upon suggestions for its extension, its narrowing, or its betterment; and without opportunity for any one of the processes of discussion and revision which are offered to-day by the operation of the rules of procedure which control legislative bodies and their committees. Under the action of the initiative, a community is called upon to say yes or no to a proposal framed by 5 per cent of anybody.

I submit that this is very like having to answer the question, "Have you left off beating your grandmother?" If you answer "yes," you embarrass yourself; if you answer "no," you embarrass yourself still more.

All that can possibly be accomplished by the initiative is to strike the heaviest possible blow at representative institutions, and to remove the last inducement to bring able, reflective, and intelligent men to accept service in a legislative body. The initiative will result in registering in more or less rapid succession the consecutive emotions of a small proportion of the electorate; because if you will examine the records where the initiative has been introduced, you will see that whatever action has been taken has been so taken by the vote of a small minority of the voting population. Consideration by chosen representatives disappears, the perfecting of a measure through committee consideration and public debate is made impossible; some preconceived scheme for which there is a sentiment among a small portion of the community must be accepted or rejected in toto.

This is not a policy which makes for stable and consistent government. This is not a progressive policy. This is not a policy which will develop and strengthen the institutions that we have inherited and that we are seeking to apply to new conditions. This is not a policy which will bring support to the fundamental guaranties of civil and political liberty upon which our National Government rests.

But it may be urged, surely those fundamental guaranties are not questioned or doubted. I beg to assure you that every single one of them is questioned and doubted in this country, and questioned and doubted by no inconsiderable body of opinion, some of it not lacking in intelligence, very energetically represented in different parts of the United States. We may close our eyes to all this if we like. We may, with our consummate American hopefulness and optimism, say that it will turn out all right; perhaps it will; but the fact remains that there are some of us who believe that the fundamental guaranties which underlie our whole National Government and our national life can not be attacked, can not be denied, can not be made light of, without serious danger to our entire political fabric.

Should not the majority rule? If the majority wish to sweep away all the fundamental guaranties, should they not be permitted to do so? Is that not one of the risks that democratic government must run? Those who believe that we learn nothing in this world from human experience may, if they choose, answer those questions in the affirmative. Those who believe that nothing in this world is fixed or definite or a matter of principle, may answer those questions in the affirmative; but those who believe that we do move forward through the centuries by building upon and using the experience of those who have gone before; those who believe that out of the thousand or two thousand years of political life and activity of the western world there have come some principles which are certain and which abide, and some political guaranties that are vital to human welfare, they will answer those questions no; a thousand times no! Those who believe that we must build our institutions upon foundations that are not subject to continual revision and reconstruction will answer no; a thousand times no! We point to the fundamental guaranties of the British and American Constitutions, and say that those are beyond the legitimate reach of any majority because they are established in the fundamental laws of human nature upon which all government and civilization and progress rest. Sweep them away, if you will; a majority may have that power, but with the power does not go the right. If they are swept away, all government and all liberty go with them, and anarchy, in which might alone makes right and power alone gives place, will rise upon their ruins.

There is nothing new about all this. Aristotle pointed out that democracy has many points of resemblance with tyranny. It was he who first told us how democracy as well as a tyranny may become a despotism. It was he who first pointed out to us the likeness that there is between the demagogue in a democracy and the court favorite in a tyranny. If democracy is not to become a tyranny it must recognize and build upon those constitutional limitations and guaranties that are so precious to the individual citizen and that protect him in his life, his liberty, and his property. It is not in the power of any majority to sweep these away without sweeping away with them the whole fabric of the State in violent and destructive revolution. The other day, in turning over the pages of John C. Calhoun, I came upon a most extraordinary sentence which bears upon this very point. Almost a century ago Calhoun wrote these words: "The government of the uncontrolled numerical majority is but the absolute and despotic form of popular government, just as the uncontrolled will of one one man is monarchy."

Control there must always be if there is to be liberty. That control is law, built in turn upon those limitations and guaranties which are our Constitution. It is just as easy for a majority to become a despot as for a monarch to become a tyrant; even a tyrant may be benevolent; even a democratic despotism may be malevolent.

We are now invited to treat there constitutional limitations and guaranties just as we treat mere statutory legislation. They are to be revised, to be amended, to be overturned, in order that the sacred will of a temporary majority may be everywhere and always enacted into constitutional law. To walk in these paths means the suppression of the individual as the unit in the scheme of liberty. It means the extinction of liberty as we have known it. It means what I call a socialistic democracy, because it means that the majority will take direct and responsible control of your life, your liberty, and your property. All that constitutes individuality will have gone by the board; it will have been poured into the great boiling pot of the social whole, there to be reduced to a single incoherent mass to be exploited as the will of this or that majority may from moment to moment determine and advise. This may be progress, but it is certainly revolution.

Then there is another device urged upon us in the name of progress, known as the referendum. This differs widely from initiative, and has no possible relationship to it. It is, in effect, a popular veto on the acts of the legislature. Our American institutions provide almost without exception for an executive veto. The executive veto exists for the purpose not necessarily of permanently defeating legislation, but to compel its reconsideration, its public discussion, and its restudy by the people themselves, by the press, and by the people's representatives. It is a wise and appropriate institution. Experience has shown that while it is not often used, it may serve, and does serve, as a check upon hasty and ill-considered legislative action.

The referendum, however, is quite different from the executive veto, and, in the form in which it is now urged, is like the initiative in that it tends to destroy the responsibility of the legislator and to make the legislature itself a very subordinate and timid body. If any community or State insists upon subjecting the ordinary work of its legislature to a general referendum, it insists at the same time that it shall be served in its legislature by second-rate and third-rate men, and that its representatives shall be turned into delegates. Edmund Burke would find no place in such a scheme of politics as that. Once more I say, to introduce the referendum as a check upon the legislature may be progress, but I insist that if it is progress it is also revolution. It is revolution because it strips away more and more elements of strength, independence, and power from the legislature. The legislature exists in order that different views may be studied and compared, in order that acts may be considered and perfected by hearing all parties and all interests, in order that amendment and discussion may be possible. All this is stripped away if there is behind each legislator's chair a controlling force which says, "If you do so-and-so we shall upset it by a general vote, as we, your creators, have a right to do."

Lord Acton in one of his essays, I think it is the one on the history of liberty, pointed out some years ago that the referendum, whatever may be said in its favor theoretically, is obnoxious to all believers in representative institutions, because it contemplates decision without discussion. Of course there is discussion in one sense, but there is no discussion which could in any way operate to perfect a pending proposal; there is no discussion possible that can lead to the amendment or improvement of a proposal. The only discussion that can possibly take place is that which will confirm men in their attitude toward the proposition which is pending.

Of course we are in this country accustomed to a certain limited use of the principle of referendum. State constitutions, as a rule, and State amendments, almost uniformly, are passed upon by the people as a whole. The same is true often in the case of large financial undertakings or bond issues. If the legislature itself takes and may take the initiative in submitting a question to a referendum vote, the damage is in so far limited. To force a referendum vote upon the legislature by constitutional provision would be, however, to inflict the maximum amount of damage upon the representative principle. As a matter of fact, no legislature should seek to shirk responsibility: that is the part of weak and timid men. More than half a century ago the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, in the well-known case of Barto *v.* Himrod, laid down the true doctrine on this subject in no uncertain terms. The court used this language:

"The representatives of the people are the lawmakers, and they are responsible to their constituents for their conduct in that capacity. By following the directions of the constitution, each member has an opportunity of proposing amendments. The general policy of the law, as well as the fitness of its details, is open to discussion. The popular feeling is expressed through their representatives; and the latter are enlightened and influenced more or less by the discussions of the public press.

"A complicated system can only be perfected by a body composed of a limited number, with power to make amendments and to enjoy the benefit of free discussion and consultation. This can never be accomplished with reference to such a system when submitted to a vote of the people. They must take the system proposed or nothing. They can adopt no amendments, however obvious may be their necessity. * * * All the safeguards which the constitution has provided are broken down, and the members of the legislature are allowed to evade the responsibility which belongs to their office. * * * If this mode of legislation is permitted and becomes general, it will soon bring to a close the whole system of representative government which has been so justly our pride. The legislature will become an irresponsible cabal, too timid to assume the responsibility of lawgivers, and with just wisdom enough to devise subtle schemes of imposture to mislead the people. All the checks against improvident legislation will be swept away, and the character of the constitution will be radically changed."

Do you fully realize with what levity we are now passing upon this important issue of the referendum in this country? Do you realize in what complexity important governmental proposals are being submitted to thousands and tens of thousands of voters, and with what light-hearted frivolity they are being passed upon? A few weeks ago the great State of California, one of the most intelligent and wealthiest States in the Union, completely revolutionized its form of government by passing at one and the same election 23 amendments to its constitution by enormous majorities. It has, however, escaped attention that the total vote cast for and against these revolutionary proposals was about 60 per cent of the vote cast for President in 1908 or that cast for governor in 1910. Apparently the number of people in California who are interested in their form of government are only about six-tenths of the number that were interested in who should be President of the United States or who should be governor of the State. Of the 23 amendments that were presented to the people of California on one and the same ballot, some half dozen were genuine constitutional amendments; the rest were almost without exception matters of legislation, some of them very trifling.

If you have not already seen it, I want to show you the document that was sent by the secretary of the State of California to every registered voter in the State. [Here the speaker exhibited a large sheet closely printed on both sides.] You will observe that the State officials who got up this amazing document did not expect it to be read by anybody. It is solidly printed in small type on both sides of one sheet, and there is the trifling little matter of a supplement with three or four amendments on a separate sheet. Here are printed the questions that were submitted not to the Court of Appeals of California, not to the professors of political science in the State university, not even to the legislature of the State, but to the voters. I submit that the whole proceeding is ridiculous. Look at these pieces of paper. In 1908, 386,000 voted for President in California; in 1910, 385,000 voted for governor. The highest vote cast on October 10 last for any of these amendments was cast in regard to the amendment relating to women's suffrage. The total vote on that amendment was 246,000; 140,000 fewer than were polled three years before for President and 139,000 fewer than were polled two years before for governor. Women's suffrage was carried in California by an affirmative vote of 125,000, or 2,000 less than Mr. Bryan received in 1908, when he lost the State by nearly 90,000 majority.

Is it not obvious, then, that we are changing our form of government in the United States by a minority vote? Here is an amendment which doubles the number of voters in the State by removing the limitation of sex; here is action which establishes the initiative, the referendum, the recall, including the recall of judges; and every one of them is an amendment to the constitution of a great, rich, and populous State made by a small minority of the voting population. That, I submit, is a political factor and a political portent of far-reaching significance. I know the answer. It is said that the remainder of the voting population might have voted had it wished to do so. True; but why then should not this great nonvoting mass be counted in opposition to revolutionary changes in government rather than in favor of them, or ignored entirely? What principle of political science or of equity is it that puts the institutions of a whole State at the mercy, not even of a temporary majority, but of a small minority of the people?

This election in California wrote into the constitution of the State what is known as the recall, including the recall of members of the judiciary. The recall of executive and legislative officials is not a violation of the fundamental principles of representative government as are the initiative and referendum. It is simply a stupid and a foolish device of restless and meddling minds. The recall, will however, assist the initiative and the referendum in diminishing the consistency, the intelligence, and the disinterestedness of government, because it will help to keep high minded and independent men from accepting nomination and election to public office. It will help to develop a class of timorous and unprincipled office seekers and officeholders who will be able to change what they call their principles as quickly as they change their clothes, if a few votes are to be gained thereby.

The principle of the recall when applied to the judiciary, however, is much more than a piece of stupid folly. It is an outrage of the first magnitude! It is said: "Are not the judges the servants of the people? Do not the people choose them directly or indirectly, and should not the people be able to terminate their services at will?" To these questions I answer flatly, No! The judges stand in a wholly different relation to the people from executive and legislative officials. The judges are primarily the servants not of the people, but of the law. It is their duty to interpret the law as it is, and to hold the law-making bodies to their constitutional limitations, not to express their own personal opinions on matters of public policy. It is true that the people make the law, but they do not make it all at once. Our system of common law has come down to us from ancient days, slowly broadening from precedent to precedent. It is not a dead or a fixed thing. It is capable of movement, of life, and of adaptation to changing conditions. But it must be changed and adapted by reasonable and legal means and methods and not by shouting or by tumult. It was no less a person than Daniel Webster who said "that our American mode of government does not draw any power from tumultuous assemblages." This is true whether the tumultuous assemblage shouts and cries aloud on a sand lot, or whether the tumultuous assemblage goes through the form of voting at the polls.

Moreover, we know something about what happens when judges are dependent upon the power that creates them. The history of England tells a plain story of the tyranny and injustice which grow out of a judiciary that is made representative not of the law but of the Crown. In the same way, if the recall of the judiciary should be established in this country, it would not be long before our history would tell the story of the tyranny and injustice that usually follow upon a judiciary made immediately dependent upon a voting population. If great causes, civil and criminal, are to be decided in accordance with established principles of law and equity and upon carefully tested evidence, they must be decided under the guidance of a fearless and independent judiciary. To make the actions or the words of a judge the subject matter of popular revision at the polls with a view to displacing a judicial officer because some act or word is not at the moment popular, is the most monstrous perversion of republican institutions and of the principles of true democracy that has yet been proposed anywhere or by anybody.

There need be no doubt or mistake about this, for the advocates of the recall of the judiciary mince no words. I find in the Appeal to Reason, edited by Eugene V. Debs, who is hardly the safest and the sanest adviser that the American people have had, these words in relation to the California election:

"The fight at the polls this fall will center around the adoption of the initiative, referendum, and recall amendments to the constitution. Under the provisions of the recall amendment the judges of the Supreme Court of California can be retired. These are men who will decide the fate of the kidnapped workers! Don't you see what it means, comrades, to have in the hands of an intelligent, militant working class the political power to recall the present capitalist judges and put on the bench our own men? Was there ever such an opportunity for effective work? No; not since socialism first raised its crimson banner on the shores of Morgan's country! The election for governor and State officers of California does not occur till 1914. But with the recall at our command we can put our own men in office without waiting for a regular election!"

It will be observed that the courts of California had before them a case about which Mr. Debs had seemingly made up his mind. He had not heard the evidence, because the case has not yet come to trial, but it is perfectly obvious that he and his friends are ready to return a verdict. Moreover, they are ready to recall—that is, to displace—before the expiry of his term any judge who differs with them. Can anyone outside of Bedlam support a public policy such as this?

To make it possible to displace public officials before the expiry of the term for which they are chosen is to deprive them of individual responsibility and dignity and to make them mere tools of passing opinion. It is not difficult to see what would have happened had the principle of the recall prevailed throughout American history. We Americans are singularly liable to communicable political diseases, and one wave of emotion after another sweeps over us with amazing celerity. George Washington would have been recalled at the time of the Genet episode; James Madison might have been recalled during the agitation which led to the War of 1812 with England; Abraham Lincoln would almost certainly have been recalled in the dark days of 1862 and 1863; Grover Cleveland would have been recalled by overwhelming vote in the summer of 1893, when he was making his fight for a sound financial policy and system. Yet, when we get far enough away from the public deeds of these strong men we see that the particular things which at the time most excited the animosity and roused the passions of large numbers of people were the very things that made them immortal in American history. It is not because they defied public opinion that they were great; it is because they understood real public opinion better than did the untamed passion of the moment. They saw far more clearly than did the crowd what was really at stake, and it was their responsibility to reflect, to plan, and to act so that the honor and highest interests of the Nation would be preserved. To-day these men are with the highest on the list of our American heroes; yet every one of them might have been dashed from his high place if the passions of the moment could have gotten at them when those passions were at their height.

Mr. President, neither is there anything new about all this. It is a French proverb which says "Everything changes, but everything is always the same." In 1890 there was discovered the lost work by the philosopher Aristotle on the Constitution of Athens. The reading of that work tells us much more than we previously knew of the working of the Athenian constitution. We can now see more clearly than ever before why it was that Athens, with all its glory, went to pieces. The Athenians not only appointed their generals by popular vote, but they voted every month or two as to whether they would recall them. They recalled Pericles; they recalled Laches; they recalled Thucydides; they recalled Alcibiades. A general would be sent out to take a fort or to reduce a city. He did not succeed. As soon as the news reached home he was recalled. A general was sent out to land an army in Sicily. Before he reached there he was recalled. This sort of thing has all been tried. It was tried at Athens to the full, and the Athenian democracy is now an interesting and instructive memory. Why must we Americans always be children? Why must we always seek to learn over again at our own cost the lessons of experience which the world's history is ready to teach us for the asking?

Mr. President, why should we not be permitted to perfect our form of government instead of changing it? Why should we not move forward in genuine progress on the lines of the development of the last 500 years? Why must we turn back and begin all over again to climb the painful hill of difficulty which leads to representative government and to liberty? It is to me a continual source of amazement that those who urge these revolutionary changes upon us do not seem to know anything of the recorded history of government and of human society. They do not appear to know that the instruments which they offer us as new and bright and helpful have long since been discarded as old and rusty and outworn. Let them open their minds and study history before attempting to guide the political development of the American people.

I have no time now to do more than indicate where I believe the path of true political progress for our democracy leads. It leads, in my judgment, not to more frequent elections but to fewer elections; it leads not to more elective officers, but to fewer; it leads not to more direct popular interference with representative institutions, but to less; it leads to a political practice in which a few important officers are chosen for relatively long terms of service, given much power and responsibility, and then are held to strict accountability therefor; it leads not to more legislation, but to infinitely less; it leads to fixing public opinion on questions of vital principle and not to dissipating it among a thousand matters of petty administrative detail; it leads to those acts and policies that will increase the desire and interest of public-spirited men to hold office and not drive them away from it as with a scourge.

I wish that it might be possible for us to be lifted up to a distant planet and to look down on this earth of ours and to witness its history move forward as in a cinematograph, so that we might in a few moments view it from its beginnings to our own day. We should see the early civilized peoples with their institutions and their magnificent buildings ruling the plains of Iran; we should see the fertile Valley of the Nile settled and built up and the mysterious pyramids and sphinxes and temples rise like magic at the edge of the most arid of deserts; we should see the grandeur that was Greece, and the glory that was Rome; we should see the building up of the great empire of Charlemagne; we should watch it fall to pieces; we should observe the moving masses of people from the north and east going to the south and west, and also the dark stream of Arab migration flowing along the south shore of the Mediterranean and across the narrow straits into Spain; we should see the modern nations of Europe take their beginning; we should see the heavy hand of absolutism laid upon them, each and all; and then our eyes would be attracted by those two bright spots of which I have already spoken, England and Holland. From them would be seen coming bright beams of light, inspiration, and guidance, strong enough to reach across the Atlantic and to help the earliest American settlers to lay the foundations of the civil government which is ours. We should see the fundamental principles of this polity growing stronger and more powerful, adapting themselves to varying needs and economic conditions, building up a nation that stretches from ocean to ocean and from frost to continual sunshine, and which offers a haven and a resting place to men of every race and every blood who believe in liberty and who seek it. I wish that we could see all that. I wish that we could see the history of political progress as it is recorded in the institutions of civilized men, and seeing it, then put to the American people the question, Why should we change our form of government?

When that vision is revealed to the intelligent American, when his intelligence and conscience are really reached, he will say to these revolutionists who are inviting us to the happy days of the socialistic democracy, No! He will say to the defenders of a representative republic, Let us not change our form of government; let us develop, let us perfect it, for in so doing we are only responding to the noble appeal of Abraham Lincoln, so to dedicate ourselves to the cause of liberty that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

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AGAINST A THIRD TERM FOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL W. McCALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 6, 1912

WASHINGTON
1912

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SPEECH

OF

HON. SAMUEL W. McCALL.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 18956) making appropriations for the support of the Army for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1913—

Mr. McCALL said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: The House is to be congratulated upon the self-restraint that it showed yesterday in expressing its opinion upon a third term. If I may extract the wisdom from an observation made by my friend from Kansas [Mr. MURDOCK], the unanimity with which a congregation of statesmen will side-step a stick of political dynamite is certainly remarkable. [Laughter.] But in view of the self-control which the House showed yesterday and its reserve in expressing an opinion, I think I am safe in concluding that in some observations which I shall now proceed to make upon a third term I shall be in no danger of being interrupted by a riot. [Laughter.]

I am sorry to detain the House at so late an hour, but the attendance in committee is full, and my remarks will be brief. I have the further excuse that I believe I am going to deliver a good speech [laughter], because much of it is composed of quotations from very eminent authorities.

If the presidential term possessed an interest that was only academic it would never have received the attention that has been bestowed upon it at all periods of our history. In a republic the tenure of the chief magistrate presents an intensely practical question. It bears a vital relation to the stability of that kind of government. It is at the very point where the opposing forces most fiercely clash that determine whether a republic is to be perpetual or is to merge into some dynastic form. A limited tenure for the head of the State may fairly be called the most important bound to republican institutions. The tremendous influence of the executive power centralized in the hands of one strong, unscrupulous man may easily be adequate in critical times to remove all limitation upon his tenure and to change the essential character of the Government. It is hardly necessary to cite instances. Under the consulship of Cæsar, the annual election to the leadership of the Roman Republic became an idle form, and this farce was performed each year for centuries under Augustus, Nero, and the other Emperors. Napoleon was first consul for a fixed time, then for life, and then Emperor. And if you ask for an instance nearer our own country and time, you have only to turn to the neighboring Republic of Mexico, where autocracy paved the way for revolution and only a bloody war terminated the rule of a President. The reality of the issue is shown by the manner in which it has engaged the earnest attention not alone of political theorists but of practical statesmen. It is my chief purpose in addressing the House to-day to trace the attitude of our Presidents, who have been called upon to meet this question practically and whose utterances upon it must have an authoritative force with the American people.

In the framing of the Constitution the presidential tenure was one of the foremost among the problems that received the thoughtful consideration of the convention. The majority of the States voted that the President should have a term of seven years and be ineligible for reelection, and this limitation to a single term remained in the Constitution until almost the close of the proceedings of the convention. There was then substituted for it a provision for a much shorter term, with nothing said about reelection. Washington thoroughly understood the problems involved in making the Constitution. He understood them better, perhaps, than any other man who participated in the convention over which he presided. Reflecting the opinion that had found so strong an expression in the convention, he determined near the end of his first term not to accept a reelection, which, if he should consent to accept it, would come to him by acclamation. He charged Madison with the duty of preparing a draft of an address announcing his purpose. Madison based this draft upon a letter from Washington and upon a conversation with him. There occurs in the paper prepared by Madison the following significant passage, which undoubtedly reflected with correctness the opinion of Washington:

> May I be allowed further to add as a consideration far more important that an early example of rotation in an office of so high and delicate a nature may equally accord with the republican spirit of our Constitution and the ideas of liberty and safety entertained by the people.

But Washington became the object of pressure upon every side and from men representing all shades of opinion to accept another election. The National Government had not yet been fully delivered into the world. The Constitution had not been completely set in motion. There seemed to be danger that without the one man at the head who could command practically undivided support the Government might not be kept going. Washington yielded very reluctantly to the pressure that was brought to bear upon him. But at the end of his second term and with the certainty of a third unanimous election before him, he refused to accept another election, and established the line which has ever since been regarded as the Rubicon over which no President might cross. For nearly a century and a quarter, whatever other changes may have taken place in our Constitution or in public opinion, whatever enlarged views the people may have come to entertain regarding the National Government, the precedent of Washington in fixing the limit at two terms, ratified as it has been by his successors, has acquired the force of a constitutional limitation and by prescription it has to-day the validity of positive law.

The power of the Presidency, great in Washington's time, is very much greater to-day. The development of the country has resulted in giving an importance to some of the national powers which they did not possess in Washington's day. We have increased in population thirtyfold and in wealth probably a hundredfold, and there has naturally come about a centralization of power in the hands of one man such as was never before witnessed. And yet, even with the power which the

President had in the administration of Washington, it appeared to that great patriot to be in the interest of the preservation of liberty that a precedent should be created upon the presidential tenure. The House of Representatives in reply to Washington's address made this striking declaration:

> We can not be unmindful that your moderation and magnanimity twice displayed by retiring from your exalted stations afforded examples no less rare and instructive to mankind than valuable to a republic. * * * For our country's sake, for the sake of republican liberty, it is our earnest wish that your example may be the guide of your successors, and thus after being the ornament and safeguard of the present age become the patrimony of our descendants.

Mr. Jefferson followed the example of Washington. Many times he put upon record his approval of the limitation. On January 6, 1805, he wrote to his friend Taylor:

> Gen. Washington set the example of voluntary retirement after eight years. I shall follow it. And a few more precedents will oppose the obstacle of habit to anyone after a while who shall endeavor to extend his term.

Again, on June 7, 1807, he wrote to Mr. Weaver:

> If some period be not fixed, either by the Constitution or by practice, to the services of the First Magistrate, his office, though nominally elective, will, in fact, be for life, and that will soon degenerate into an inheritance.

In a letter to the legislature of Vermont, December 10, 1807, replying to an address asking him to accept another election, he said:

> If some termination to the services of the Chief Magistrate be not fixed by the Constitution or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will, in fact, become for life, and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that a representative government, responsible at short periods of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle, and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office.

A similar reply was made to the many other States which also had asked him to continue in the Presidency.

Jefferson's example, following that of Washington, removed the question of the third term from the politics of that time. There was a universal acquiescence in the practice established by those two illustrious men. Madison and Monroe each served two terms, and, so effective were the examples of Washington and Jefferson, a third term does not appear even to have been discussed, although Monroe was elected to his second term by a unanimous vote. Andrew Jackson did not believe in even one reelection, and much less could he have believed in two. Having in every one of his eight annual messages urged upon Congress the necessity of amending the Constitution so as to limit the tenure to a single term, it was to be expected that he should not consider the acceptance of a third term.

During Grant's second term there was an agitation to secure his election for a third time. It is very improbable that Grant was in any way a party to this movement, which was pressed by politicians who had attached themselves to him and were attempting to utilize the fame of the great Union general, very likely for their party's benefit, but incidentally for their own. The southern question for the moment assumed such shape that the movement received lukewarm opposition and even mild support in that section of the Union. The Louisville Courier-Journal, having the same brilliant editor then that it has today, declared that—

> There are thousands of citizens, sick and weary of partisan injustice and corruption, who will—very mistakenly, but nevertheless very sincerely—see in a proposed relief from wool-pulling fanatics on the one hand and rag-picking financiers on the other a short cut out of a current dilemma through the agency of a third term.

The subject was generally discussed in the newspapers and became one of the most notable of the issues of that day. It was dealt with in State conventions. Perhaps the most striking utterance is the following, which is found in the Kansas Republican platform of 1874:

> The unwritten law enacted by the example of the Father of his Country in declining a reelection to a third term is as controlling as though it was incorporated in the National Constitution, and ought never to be violated.

After more than a year of discussion the question was brought up in Congress, and on December 15, 1875, the House of Representatives, by a vote of 233 to 18, passed the following resolution:

> *Resolved,* That, in the opinion of this House, the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United States in retiring from the presidential office after their second term has become,

> by universal consent, a part of our republican system of Government and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions.

Whether or not the decisive vote for this resolution put an end to the controversy, Grant was not pressed as a candidate before the succeeding Republican convention. Four years afterwards, however, he was put forward with a very powerful support, and after one of the most remarkable political struggles in our history he was defeated in the convention of his party.

On June 10, 1901, President McKinley, who had entered upon his second term on the 4th of March preceding, put himself unequivocally on record, as follows:

> I regret that the suggestion of a third term has been made. I doubt whether I am called upon to give it notice; but there are questions of the greatest importance before the administration and the country, and their just consideration should not be prejudiced in the public mind by even the suspicion of the thought of a third term. In view, therefore, of the reiteration of the suggestion of it I will say now, once for all, expressing a long-settled conviction, that I not only am not and will not be a candidate for a third term, but would not accept a nomination for it if it were tendered me. My only ambition is to serve through the second term to the acceptance of my countrymen, whose generous confidence I so deeply appreciate, and then with them to do my duty in the ranks of private citizenship.

The first utterance to the country made by President Roosevelt after the presidential election of 1904 was a declaration against a third term. When we consider its thoroughly explicit character and the circumstances under which it was made it will compare in point of patriotism or in any other high quality with that of any of his predecessors. He had received the greatest popular majority ever given a candidate for the Presidency. It was the first election as President that he had ever received. The question might have been raised whether the precedents literally applied. But he disregarded the technicality; he sent the "second elective term" quibble glimmering and made the following explicit declaration of his intention:

> On the 4th of March next I shall have served three and a half years, and these three and a half years constitute my first term. The wise custom which limits the President to two terms regards the substance and not the form, and under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination.

And again, in December, 1907, he declared:

> I have not changed and shall not change that decision thus announced.

Thus the record of the precedents is clear. For a century and a quarter the bound prescribed by Washington has been severely respected. No man has served in the Presidency more than two terms. In only a single instance did anyone permit himself to be a candidate for a third term, and he was defeated even in the convention of the party of which he had been the idol. The longer the usage the more binding becomes its character.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman yield?

Mr. McCALL. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. I want to ask the gentleman if he does not differentiate between a third term where the term is successive——

Mr. McCALL. Or consecutive——

Mr. NORRIS. And where another term has intervened; and I want to ask the gentleman if any argument he has read from anybody has any application except where a third term is a successive term?

Mr. McCALL. I think it has, but I am going to treat that very question which the gentleman has suggested.

Very many years ago Chancellor Kent, in his Commentaries upon the Constitution, said of the tenure of the President that—

> This usage has indirectly established by the force of public opinion a salutary limitation to his capacity for continuance in office.

Much later, when time had added to the authority which the practice had acquired in Chancellor Kent's day, Hon. John C. Spooner said in a note on De Toqueville's Democracy in the United States:

> President Washington established the practice of declining a third election, and every one of his successors, either from a sense of propriety or from apprehension of the force of public opinion, has followed his example. So that it has become as much a part of the Constitution that no citizen can become a third time elected President as if it were expressed in that instrument in words.

Where a usage is not contrary to the terms of the Constitution but supplements it, it can acquire as valid a force as ever the common law had in England. Take, for instance, the method of electing a President. Under the Constitution an elector has practically unlimited discretion, provided he votes for a candidate who has the constitutional qualifications. Indeed, it was the purpose of the provision establishing the Electoral College to delegate to a few wise men the power to choose the President and Vice President. But by long usage an elector has become merely a ballot, bearing the name of the candidate of his party, and if his candidate lived and he should bring about the election of another the act would create a revolution.

The restriction imposed by Washington's example was never so salutary as to-day. The army of Federal employees has grown from a few hundreds to nearly a half million. Through the extension of our territory and the development of commerce and industry the activities of the National Government have expanded in a bewildering fashion. More than the total amount of our annual expenditure under Washington is now spent by the Government each year for inspectors and detectives for supervising what we write, what sort of contracts we make, and how we conduct our business. The central authority may know what every man does. This knowledge or ability to know business secrets and an unlimited power of prosecution for loosely defined statutory crimes enormously increase the weapons which an ambitious and unscrupulous President might employ to continue indefinitely in office.

Mr. SHERLEY. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit an inquiry there?

Mr. McCALL. Certainly.

Mr. SHERLEY. Does not that argument apply with equal force to a President succeeding himself?

Mr. McCALL. Logically I think it does. But I think the influence would be much stronger after two terms than one.

The system of government that exists must bear the burden of all the evils, however much worse they might be under some other system. Rapacious avarice, which no code of law has ever been able wholly to check, the inequality that is inevitable as well as the inequality that is unpardonable, the vulgar splurging of the porky rich—these and other things will produce discontent. And then the country does not lack for people who chiefly delight in the glamour and the fuss and feathers of high office, who are swept away by its noise and vociferation, and who will listen in rapture to the siren song of the political calliope if only it can be made to play upon the White House grounds. [Laughter and applause.] A President who is at once an unprincipled and a skillful politician may augment and utilize discontent, may play upon the celestial beings of the gallery, and may so wield his vast power that at last the country might come to think that its safety depended upon one man and upon the sacrifice of its institutions.

But it is said that the rule against the third term has application only to those who are actually in the Presidency. The utterances of our Presidents, however, were not ambiguous. They were against three terms, and not merely against three consecutive terms. President Roosevelt, for instance, said:

> Under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination.

There is no equivocation there. The rotation of which Washington spoke to Madison did not leave room for passing the office on to a favorite to be passed back again.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield there?

Mr. McCALL. Yes.

Mr. NORRIS. I want to know if all those statements made by Washington and Jefferson and Roosevelt were not made at a time when they were serving their second terms, and if they were not made in answer to suggestions that they should become candidates for a third term, which necessarily would have been a successive term?

Mr. McCALL. Undoubtedly.

Mr. NORRIS. Those expressions ought to be construed, then, should they not, in the light of the conditions and circumstances under which they were made?

Mr. McCALL. The gentleman is trying to complete the circumstances under which a man like Jefferson or a man like

Roosevelt made a statement, in order to detract from the literalness of the statement.

Mr. NORRIS. I think they should be construed in the proper light.

Mr. McCALL. They should be construed as they were made, and I do not put them forth for any other purpose.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts yield to the gentleman from Kansas?

Mr. McCALL. Yes.

Mr. JACKSON. Inasmuch as the interruption has occurred, I would like to ask another question. The House of Representatives being one coordinate branch of the three great branches of the Government upon which devolves the duty of the election of the President in case the electoral college fails to elect, does not the gentleman think that if this House should rush into an expression of opinion upon the matter of the interpretation of what constitutes a successive or third term at a time when it was of importance to the country, it would be as much a violation, or more of a violation, of the Constitution than it would be if an individual would offer himself as a candidate?

Mr. McCALL. I do not know how the gentleman voted yesterday, but he may be giving a very good reason for his action yesterday. [Laughter.]

Mr. JACKSON. I did not vote at all. I simply ask whether the gentleman thought it was proper for the House of Representatives to prejudge the question.

Mr. McCALL. If the gentleman thought it a prejudgment, undoubtedly that would justify his action yesterday in refusing to prejudge the question.

Mr. NORRIS. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman permit another question?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts yield to the gentleman from Nebraska?

Mr. McCALL. Certainly.

Mr. NORRIS. Is it not true that all the argument in opposition to a third term is founded upon a proposition that a

President who is in office obtains power that gives him in his official position ability to control nominations and thus succeed himself? Is not that the principal argument against it?

Mr. McCALL. That is a very strong argument, but it is not the only argument.

Mr. NORRIS. The gentleman will admit that that argument does not exist when the term is not successive.

Mr. McCALL. Not that particular argument, although if the gentleman had listened to the statement I had made about rotation he must have seen that it must have even some effect on the exercise by the President of his influence on his party.

Mr. SLOAN. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Does the gentleman from Massachusetts yield to the gentleman from Nebraska?

Mr. McCALL. Yes.

Mr. SLOAN. Referring to the Presidents whom the gentleman has named, who declined a renomination or reelection after the expiration of eight years, was any of them ever seriously considered for renomination except President Grant?

Mr. McCALL. It seemed to be considered a closed incident in the case of all of them except President Grant, who was the most powerful man in his party, and who was defeated in the convention of his party, and I believe he would have been more decisively defeated at the polls in the event that he had been a candidate.

Mr. SLOAN. Did any of them have an opportunity to take a third term after the lapse of four years?

Mr. McCALL. They had no opportunity, but undoubtedly, with the authority that a man has who has served eight years in the Presidency, they could have stimulated their friends to such an extent that they could have become candidates.

One who has served eight years as President, and who has no ambition of his own to serve, acquires an authority which makes him an asset of priceless value to his country. In times of distress and danger his advice would be a powerful force to keep her upon the right path. But if he should act under the influence of ambition and aspire to the Presidency, he would be converted from an asset into a grave liability. The faults of a President soon disappear and are forgotten by the people after he has retired from office. On the other hand, the cares of the successor lie thick upon him during his first years of office, when he is involved in the struggles over patronage and before he has established himself with the people. If the retiring President who has honorably served for two terms may aspire to a third, his great reputation may serve as the rallying point for the discontented and as the center for intrigue against his successor. Instead of being a force for good government he would be a force for bad government and a source of danger to the country. From the time of Washington to this day there have been found emotional spirits fearful that destruction would come to the country or its institutions unless some man were elected to the Presidency for a third term. And yet, although no President has served more than two terms, the Republic has moved steadily forward. The Nation has no poverty in men. It possesses hundreds of citizens capable of performing with high honor the duties of the Presidency. And it will always be infinitely safer to dip into the great mass of American citizenship in order to secure a head for the State than to do violence to the uniform precedents of our history and to remove the hallowed landmark of republican institutions established by George Washington and sacredly cherished by the Nation down to this hour. [Prolonged applause.]

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The Tariff and Republicanism

I profess, Mr. Chairman, to be a progressive Republican, but I am not one of those who are progressing out of the Republican Party and into the Democratic Party. [Applause on the Republican side.] I am not one of those who are willing to make an onslaught on the doctrine of protection for any reason, for I interpret that to mean an onslaught on the Republican Party. The progressiveness in which I believe expresses itself in achievement for the good, the happiness, and the prosperity of the people of the United States, and does not spend itself in carrying around a perpetual grouch.

For 50 years the Republican Party has written the most glorious piece of history that was ever penned. Like good soldiers, let us close up the ranks, let us march to victory next November and write four years more of that same glorious Republican history.

SPEECH

OF

HON. E. A. HAYES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 19, 1912

WASHINGTON
1912

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SPEECH

OF

HON. E. A. HAYES.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 20182) to amend an act entitled "An act to provide revenue, equalize duties, and encourage the industries of the United States, and for other purposes," approved August 5, 1909—

Mr. HAYES said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I profess to be a progressive Republican, but I am not one of those who are progressing out of the Republican Party and into the Democratic Party. [Applause on the Republican side.] I am not one of those who are willing to make an onslaught on the doctrine of protection for any reason, for I interpret that to mean an onslaught on the Republican Party. The progressiveness in which I believe expresses itself in achievement for the good, the happiness, and the prosperity of the people of the United States, and does not spend itself in carrying around a perpetual grouch. [Applause.]

Some time ago, in the last Congress, a number of us on this side of the aisle organized in order to produce a reform, as we felt, in the rules of this House, to change conditions that to us seemed intolerable. I was one of that number, and I have no apology to make for the part I took in that contest. But what was the ultimate purpose of our effort to reform the rules of the House? Was it the destruction of the old Republican Party of which we were adherents? Was it in order that the Government of the country might be turned over to the Democracy, the enemy of protection? Or was it that the error and weakness that we conceived to be in our own party should be removed in order that that party might better carry on its great constructive work for the benefit of the people of the United States?

I believe that every loyal Republican who was in that movement will say with me that the latter was our purpose and not the two former. Differences in a political party that are in no way related to the fundamental principles of that party are evidences of the virility of the party and are to be commended rather than condemned. But in those things that are fundamental I believe it is the duty of every Republican to stand shoulder to shoulder with his brother Republicans to uphold the principles of the party whose representative, as well as the representative of the people, he is.

If the Republican Party of the United States stands for anything, it stands for adequate protection to American industries and American labor. This principle has been enunciated in every platform of the party from the time of Lincoln down to the present date. In the great debate with Doulgas the immortal Lincoln declared that this Nation could not exist half slave and half free. It was true. No more can the Republican Party exist half protection and half free trade. Every Republican, everybody that is with us, I believe, must be a protectionist, and every man who is a free trader or a believer in a tariff for revenue only must inevitably be against us, as I interpret party principles and party platforms.

I see signs, Mr. Chairman, that some of our Republican brethren are being enticed away from the old faith; being urged to worship at new shrines. They are led to believe that the great doctrine of protection is not so important as other issues which are claimed to be uppermost in the minds of the people of the country. "Reform!" "Progressive policies!" "Bring the Government back to the people!" These are very catchy words in these days, and many of both parties are giving adherence to these reform or progressive policies, as they are called, and are following after that democracy which some are so zealously preaching without having a very definite idea as to what any of these things mean or just what new perfections any of these new policies are to bring into our politics. As a result of this indefiniteness it is easy for all kinds of cranks and demagogues to catch the ear of the public by loudly proclaiming themselves to be progressives or reformers or advocates of the rights of the people.

Everyone will probably agree that there is plenty of need for reform in our politics. There always has been this need, and the same need will doubtless remain after the present somewhat hysterical wave that is now sweeping over the country shall have spent its force.

Mr. MORSE of Wisconsin. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. HAYES. Certainly.

Mr. MORSE of Wisconsin. The recent elections in California are not what are referred to by the gentleman from California as being hysterical, are they? I refer to the judicial recall, for example.

Mr. HAYES. Most of the things advocated by the progressives in California I approved and fought for in the campaign last fall in my State, but I am obliged to say to the gentleman that I can not give my adherence to the recall of the judiciary. I have not time now to discuss it, but I fought it in the campaign, and I am still opposed to it.

The first necessity is that the great indefiniteness that is generally characterizing the present movement should be removed. Effective results can only come when we have a clear conception of the evils that we are trying to correct and the remedies that are proposed to correct them. "Those who, without any concrete program of reforms, are stirring a vague sense of the rottenness of the present order are doing but an ill service." "To wrench the superlatives of the English language merely to produce a general atmosphere of suspicion, granted that the suspicion may perhaps be justified, is a very questionable public service." As one of the greatest of living Americans has well said, "To assail the great and admitted evils of our political and industrial life with such crude and sweeping generalizations as to include decent men in the general condemnation means in the end the searing of the public conscience."

Wild propagandists of unrest and discontent; furious declaimers against the entire existing order; preachers of repression and destruction who propose no substitute for that which they propose to destroy or a substitute which would be much worse than the present evils; general aspersers of the characters of our public men, and dealers in sweeping generalizations and denunciations of everybody and everything except their own fads and faddists—such men as these, whether in public life or out of it, are no safe leaders at this time.

It seems to me there is a present urgent need of quitting this general howl against even those men and those things that deserve condemnation and actually proposing something concrete and practical.

Let us get down out of the clouds and the nebulous milky way, get our feet once more onto the earth, and strive for some definite and attainable object. Let there be less talking, denunciation, and demagogic politics, and more doing; let us formulate some definite, concrete reforms that will add to the prosperity and happiness of the people, instead of destroying both, and then get in and actually fight for them, as we did for the amendment of the House Rules and as the Republicans of California did in the last compaign, and we shall have a chance of accomplishing something beneficial to the people of the country and something worthy of ourselves and of our high professions.

One would think, to hear some of our professed reformers talk, that corruption and malfeasance in office are almost universal among our public men; that most of the men having seats in the Congress of the United States are under the pay of the so-called interests; that the great trusts and other financial and industrial hobgoblins have the National Government so completely in control that it has ceased to be representative of the people and has come to represent only those great interests; in short, that the system of government established by the Fathers of the Republic has broken down completely and proven itself a failure, so far as the protection of the liberties and rights of the people is involved.

This dark picture is a very great exaggeration. There never was a time in the history of the country when there was so little corruption and official wrongdoing as now. Simply because men do not worship at our particular political altar we are not justified in starting a political inquisition and trying and condemning them for political heresy. A man does not need to be a "sissy" or a weakling to be fair to his opponents in political as in other warfare. And most fair and honest men have come to know from experience that while there will always be differences of opinion about governmental policies, honesty of purpose and patriotism are never all on one side of any great public question. [Applause on the Republican side.]

At the height of the French Revolution the pointing of a finger of suspicion by Robespierre or any other of those men who were posing as the only defenders of liberty and the rights of the people was enough to send to the guillotine the man against whom the suspicion was directed, whether he were guilty or innocent.

And in this great country we seem to have come to a time when certain political self-righteous individuals who proclaim themselves as the only Simon-pure patriots can raise suspicion in the public mind against a man by simply calling attention to the fact that the suspected individual does not agree with these Simon-pure patriots. "These are my sentiments," in effect, they proclaim. "I am an honest man; I am a patriot. If you disagree with me you are a reactionary; you are in the pay of the interests; you are a public enemy; you are a traitor to your country." And the atmosphere of suspicion which is now filling the public mind is such that men thus accused are often condemned by a large percentage of the people, without any specifications of wrongdoing or any proof whatever.

In this connection I say—and I measure my words when I say them—that I have nothing but contempt and execration for the methods that some are using against the present occupant of the White House. [Applause on the Republican side.] They do not hesitate to use exaggeration, misrepresentation, and even falsehood, in order to bring odium upon the head of the Nation. Upon everything that he proposes they cast suspicion; they belittle and ridicule without any reference to the merits of the proposition or the suggestion that he makes. They are even willing oftentimes to expose their own insincerity and lack of consistency in order, as they express it, that they may "put the President of the United States in a hole." I have not always agreed with the policies of the present occupant of the White House, but I recognize, as I believe every fair-minded man must recognize, that never in our history have we had a President who was more honest in purpose, more patriotic, more courageous in the advocacy of that which he believed for the highest interests of the people of the United States than the man who is President of the United States to-day. [Applause on the Republican side.] Mud slinging, vituperation, and personal politics are certainly to be condemned in every local election or campaign; and if locally these things are disgusting and should be condemned by every true lover of decency, they are not to be commended when they strive to rise to the dignity of national politics. And I am glad of this opportunity, unhesitatingly and unqualifiedly, to condemn this kind of politics, whatever its purpose, no matter against whom it may be employed.

And so far as the Government of the United States ceasing to be representative, I want to assert here what every man on this floor knows as well as I know, that there never was a time in the history of the Government of the United States when it was so completely representative of the people as it is to-day. Every man on this floor knows that any question in which a considerable number of the people are interested can get a hearing and a fair hearing upon this floor at the hands of the representatives of the people, and that if any measure is being demanded by a majority of the people of the United States no power on earth can prevent its passage, whether that measure be wise or unwise.

Some public officials may, perhaps, be justly charged with striving to be too representative of the people. Instead of an attempt at leadership, there is often too much of a tendency to be slavishly subservient to the popular demand. The result is too little statesmanship and altogether too much nauseating, demagogic politics.

This is becoming known to the people as well as to most of the membership of this House. An experienced business man, a friend of mine, puts it in these very caustic words:

> The chief trouble just now is that there are too many men in public office who are overtrained as lawyers and politicians and undertrained as business men. A majority of the members of Congress are inspired more than anything else by a desire for reelection, and the commercial prosperity of the United States is a secondary consideration. As it seems to be popular to attack the business interests of the country, a majority of the Congressmen and Senators are competing with each other to see who can go to the farthest extreme in that respect. As a result the financial situation is unsettled, capital is timid, manufacturing interests are depressed, and many laborers are out of employment.

I do not indorse to the full extent these words, yet I think there is a vast amount of truth in them.

But the present peculiar condition of the public mind is only an illustration of the fact that history repeats itself. In 1838 on the floor of the Senate of the United States, Daniel Webster, after picturing the prosperity of New England at that time, used these words:

> Mr. President, such is the state of things actually existing in the country, and of which I have now given you a sample. And yet there are persons who constantly clamor against this state of things. They call it aristocracy. They excite the poor to make war upon the rich, while in truth they know not who are either rich or poor. They complain of oppression, speculation, and the pernicious influence of accumulated wealth. They cry out loudly against all banks and corporations, and all the means by which small capitals become united, in order to produce important and beneficial results. They carry on a mad hostility against all established institutions. They would choke up the fountains of industry and dry all its streams. In a country of unbounded liberty they clamor against oppression. In a country of perfect equality they would move heaven and earth against privilege and monopoly. In a country where property is more equally divided than anywhere else, they rend the air with the shouting of agrarian doctrines. In a country where the wages of labor are high beyond all parallel and where lands are cheap and the means of living low, they would teach the laborer that he is but an oppressed slave. Sir, what can such men want? What do they mean? They can want nothing, sir, but to enjoy the fruits of other men's labor. They can mean

> nothing but disturbance and disorder, the diffusion of corrupt principles and the destruction of the moral sentiments and moral habits of society. A licentiousness of feeling and of action is sometimes produced by prosperity itself. Men can not always resist the temptation to which they are exposed by the very abundance of the bounties of Providence and the very happiness of their own condition; as the steed full of the pasture will sometimes throw himself against its inclosures, break away from its confinement, and, feeling now free from needless restraint, betake himself to the moors and barrens where want, ere long, brings him to his senses, and starvation and death close his career.

Did the orator have in mind in this last illustration the fact that sometimes hunger is the only thing that will bring the wild-eyed agitator and his followers to their senses? Can it be possible that 75 years ago they had in this country "calamity howlers" of the same brand as those of our day? These words of the great Webster would certainly lead us to conclude that not all the demagogues and preachers of discontent live in our time. [Applause.]

In what I have said, Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to be understood as condemning radicals in politics, much less those who honestly strive for real reforms. Radicals in politics, as in other lines of social and human activity, have their uses, for they often attract the attention of people to faults which otherwise would escape public attention.

Their very exaggeration of the evils of their time may help to do this. They are one extreme, and the nonprogressive conservative, or as he has come to be called in these days "the reactionary," is the other extreme. The truth is that political wisdom, as a rule, is not with either of these extremes, but somewhere between the two. There are times when the advocate of revolution may be a public necessity, but as an ordinary proposition, nations, as individuals and everything else in the universe, progress by evolution and not by revolution.

Nearly all my life I have fought for the betterment of political conditions. In the struggle for this betterment I have not hesitated, upon occasion, to fight the organization of my own party. I have done the same on the floor of this House and, should occasion require, should not hesitate to do it again. But I believe in government by parties. And having given my adhesion to a political party I should hesitate long before opposing here or elsewhere the principles that lie at the foundation of that party. Certainly if I found myself wholly out of touch with my fellows of what had hitherto been my own political faith I should be honest with myself, honest with my party, honest with the public, and unhesitatingly take my place on the other side of the political fence.

Factional strife carried to the point of the destruction of the party within which it rages has never accomplished anything in this country and in my judgment never will. And the talk that we hear in some quarters about a third party to be made up of the progressives of both political parties can never be productive of any substantial benefit to the country, if we are to believe the lessons of our past history; for no third party movement ever accomplished much of value in the United States. The "Quids," during the time of John Randolph, who were a sort of offshoot or faction of the Democratic Party, prompted more by pique or disappointed personal ambition than by patriotism or any well-grounded purpose, accomplished nothing of importance, but only made their adherents ridiculous and odious.

Mr. LA FOLLETTE. What was the Republican Party itself but a third party, founded on the exigencies of the time?

Mr. HAYES. The Republican Party was not a third party. I have not time to go into the history of that time, but the old Whig Party had gone to pieces and the Republican Party was a reorganization of the Whig Party, also drawing to its fold many of the more progressive men of the United States who had hitherto belonged to the Democratic Party. The Republican Party was no third party. It was the second great political party in the United States, the Democratic Party being the other.

Mr. FOCHT. Founded on protection, the old Whig Party.

Mr. HAYES. Exactly; the Republican Party followed along the same lines, except in the matter of slavery. The "Know-Nothing" Party, which at one time threatened to become formidable, went down and out of existence as rapidly as it came into prominence, leaving behind but disgrace and obloquy for all its adherents. The Free-Soil and the Constitution Parties were organized efforts to avoid the portentous conflicts impending before the Civil War broke out. They failed entirely in their purpose. The so-called Liberal Republican movement, during the administration of President Grant, while perhaps it called the public attention to certain evils in the public service, was swallowed up by the Democracy and left no permanent or beneficial results behind. The Greenback and Populist Parties were nothing more than rallying cries for wild and visionary theorists and the disciples of failure and unrest, and left us nothing but a lesson which it is well to heed just at this time, viz, that we should be rather slow to accept, as panaceas for all our political ills, unsound or new and untried theories. The truth is, there is no room, and there never has been room in this country, for more than two great political parties. And the man who desires to work lasting political reforms will work for those reforms within one of the great parties, rather than seek to create a separate and distinct organization.

Fellow Republicans, shall history repeat itself? In the years 1913 to 1917 shall we live over again the awful experiences of 1893 to 1897? God forbid! The responsibility of preventing this is upon us. Some of us may not like the generals in command of the Republican army, but let us remember that the battle is not to be won by the generals, but by the great voting army of protectionists. Some of us may have just cause for personal grievance or resentment. This is the time to forget it. Some of us may not like the minor things for which the great army is fighting, or we may think it should be marshaling for something else. Drop that; there will be plenty of time to fight out the differences among ourselves after next November. For 50 years the Republican Party has written the most glorious piece of history that was ever penned. Like good soldiers, let us close up the ranks, let us march to victory next November and write four years more of that same glorious Republican history. [Loud applause on the Republican side.]

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PRESIDENT TAFT AND HIS PROGRESSIVE POLICIES

SPEECH

OF

HON. E. A. HAYES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 5, 1912

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1912
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SPEECH

OF

HON. E. A. HAYES.

Mr. HAYES said:

Mr. SPEAKER: This is a good time to take account of the national welfare as it is viewed by the President of the United States in the discharge of his official responsibilities. What President Taft has done, what his administration is doing, and what more it will do if Congress adopts the recommendations for constructive and progressive legislation may be learned from the messages which he has submitted since Congress met in December. I take this means of drawing attention to some of the more important subjects on which the President has communicated his views, and as the best way of doing this I quote his own language.

TRUSTS AND THE RIGHT OF COMPETITION.

In his message of December 5, 1911, on the Sherman antitrust law, the President said:

> In May last the Supreme Court handed down decisions in the suits in equity brought by the United States to enjoin the further maintenance of the Standard Oil Trust and of the American Tobacco Trust and to secure their dissolution. The decisions are epoch making and serve to advise the business world authoritatively of the scope and operation of the antitrust act of 1890. The decisions do not depart in any substantial way from the previous decisions of the court in construing and applying this important statute, but they clarify those decisions by further defining the already admitted exceptions to the literal construction of the act. By the decrees they furnish a useful precedent as to the proper method of dealing with the capital and property of illegal trusts. These decisions suggest the need and wisdom of additional or supplemental legislation to make it easier for the entire business community to square with the rule of action and legality thus finally established and to preserve the benefit, freedom, and spur of reasonable competition without loss of real efficiency or progress.
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> Much is said of the repeal of this statute and of constructive legislation intended to accomplish the purpose and blaze a clear path for honest merchants and business men to follow. It may be that such a plan will be evolved, but I submit that the discussions which have been brought out in recent days by the fear of the continued execution of the antitrust law have produced nothing but glittering generalities and have offered no line of distinction or rule of action as definite and as clear as that which the Supreme Court itself lays down in enforcing the statute.
>
> I see no objection—and, indeed, I can see decided advantages—in the enactment of a law which shall describe and denounce methods of competition which are unfair and are badges of the unlawful purpose denounced in the antitrust law. The attempt and purpose to suppress a competitor by underselling him at a price so unprofitable as to drive him out of business, or the making of exclusive contracts with customers under which they are required to give up association with other manufacturers, and numerous kindred methods for stifling competition and effecting monopoly, should be described with sufficient accuracy in a criminal statute, on the one hand, to enable the Government to shorten its task by prosecuting single misdemeanors instead of an entire conspiracy, and, on the other hand, to serve the purpose of pointing out more in detail to the business community what must be avoided.
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I renew the recommendation of the enactment of a general law providing for the voluntary formation of corporations to engage in trade and commerce among the States and with foreign nations. * * *

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The opportunity thus suggested for Federal incorporation, it seems to me, is suitable constructive legislation needed to facilitate the squaring of great industrial enterprises to the rule of action laid down by the antitrust law. This statute, as construed by the Supreme Court, must continue to be the line of distinction for legitimate business. It must be enforced, unless we are to banish individualism from all business and reduce it to one common system of regulation or control of prices like that which now prevails with respect to public utilities, and which when applied to all business would be a long step toward State socialism.

The antitrust act is the expression of the effort of a freedom-loving people to preserve equality of opportunity. It is the result of the confident determination of such a people to maintain their future growth by preserving uncontrolled and unrestricted the enterprise of the individual, his industry, his ingenuity, his intelligence, and his independent courage.

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THE INCREASED COST OF LIVING.

The President in his message of February 2, 1912, proposing an international commission to look into the cause for the high prices of the necessities of life, said:

* * * There is no doubt but that a commission could be appointed of such unprejudiced and impartial persons, experts in investigation of economic facts, that a great deal of very valuable light could be shed upon the reasons for the high prices that have so distressed the people of the world and information given upon which action might be taken to reduce the cost of living. * * *

For some years past the high and steadily increasing cost of living has been a matter of such grave public concern that I deem it of great public interest that an international conference be proposed at this time for the purpose of preparing plans, to be submitted to the various Governments, for an international inquiry into the high cost of living, its extent, causes, effects, and possible remedies. I therefore recommend that, to enable the President to invite foreign Governments to such a conference, to be held at Washington or elsewhere, the Congress provide an appropriation, not to exceed $20,000, to defray the expenses of preparation and of participation by the United States.

The numerous investigations on the subject, official or other, already made in various countries, such as Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, and the United States, have themselves strongly demonstrated the need of further study of world-wide scope. Those who have conducted these investigations have found that the phenomenon of rising prices is almost if not quite general throughout the world, but they are baffled in the attempt to trace the causes by the impossibility of making any accurate international comparisons. This is because, in spite of the number of investigations already made, we are still without adequate data and because as yet no two countries estimate their price levels on the same basis or by the same methods.

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REVISION OF THE WOOL TARIFF.

The President in communicating to Congress the report of the Tariff Board on Schedule K in his message of December 20, 1911, gave expression to these views:

I now herewith submit a report of the Tariff Board on Schedule K. The board is unanimous in its findings. On the basis of these findings I now recommend that the Congress proceed to a consideration of this schedule with a view to its revision and a general reduction of its rates.

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The report shows in detail the difficulties involved in attempting to state in categorical terms the cost of wool production and the great differences in cost as between different regions and different types of wool. It is found, however, that, taking all varieties in account, the average cost of production for the whole American clip is higher than the cost in the chief competing country by an amount somewhat less than the present duty.

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The findings of the board show that in this industry the actual manufacturing cost, aside from the question of the price of materials, is much higher in this country than it is abroad; that in the making of yarn and cloth the domestic woolen or worsted manufacturer has in general no advantage in the form of superior machinery or more efficient labor to offset the higher wages paid in this country. The findings show that the cost of turning wool into yarn in this country is about double that in the leading competing country, and that the cost of turning yarn into cloth is somewhat more than double. Under the protective policy a great industry, involving the welfare of hundreds of thousands of people, has been established despite these handicaps.

In recommending revision and reduction I therefore urge that action be taken with these facts in mind, to the end that an important and established industry may not be jeopardized.

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It is no part of the function of the Tariff Board to propose rates of duty. Their function is merely to present findings of fact on which rates of duty may be fairly determined in the light of adequate knowledge in accord with the economic policy to be followed. This is what the present report does.

The findings of fact by the board show ample reason for the revision downward of Schedule K, in accord with the protective principle, and present the data as to relative costs and prices from which may be determined what rates will fairly equalize the difference in production costs. I recommend that such revision be proceeded with at once.

FOREIGN TRADE RELATIONS.

In his message of December 7, 1911, the President had this to say concerning the tariff and foreign trade relations:

While the double tariff feature of the tariff law of 1909 has been amply justified by the results achieved in removing former and preventing new undue discriminations against American commerce, it is believed that the time has come for the amendment of this feature of the law in such way as to provide a graduated means of meeting varying degrees of discriminatory treatment of American commerce in foreign countries as well as to protect the financial interests abroad of American citizens against arbitrary and injurious treatment on the part of foreign governments through either legislative or administrative measures.

It would also seem desirable that the maximum tariff of the United States should embrace within its purview the free list, which is not the case at the present time, in order that it might have reasonable significance to the governments of those countries from which the importations into the United States are confined virtually to articles on the free list.

The fiscal year ended June 30, 1911, shows great progress in the development of American trade. It was noteworthy as marking the highest record of exports of American products to foreign countries, the valuation being in excess of $2,000,000,000. These exports showed a gain over the preceding year of more than $300,000,000.

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As I have indicated, it is increasingly clear that to obtain and maintain that equity and substantial equality of treatment essential to the flourishing foreign trade, which becomes year by year more important to the industrial and commercial welfare of the United States, we should have a flexibility of tariff sufficient for the give and take of negotiation by the Department of State on behalf of our commerce and industry.

I need hardly reiterate the conviction that there should speedily be built up an American merchant marine. This is necessary to assure favorable transportation facilities to our great ocean-borne commerce as well as to supplement the Navy with an adequate reserve of ships and men. It would have the economic advantage of keeping at home part of the vast sums now paid foreign shipping for carrying American goods. All the great commercial nations pay heavy subsidies to their merchant marine, so that it is obvious that without some wise aid from the Congress the United States must lag behind in the matter of merchant marine in its present anomalous position.

PROVISIONS FOR PANAMA CANAL TRAFFIC.

After describing the very satisfactory progress made on the Panama Canal the President, in his message of December 21, 1911, said:

I renew my recommendation with respect to the tolls of the canal that within limits which shall seem wise to Congress the power of fixing tolls be given to the President. In order to arrive at a proper conclusion there must be some experimenting, and this can not be done if Congress does not delegate the power to one who can act expeditiously.

I am very confident that the United States has the power to relieve from the payment of tolls any part of our shipping that Congress deems wise. We own the canal. It was our money that built it. We have the right to charge tolls for its use. Those tolls must be the same to everyone; but when we are dealing with our own ships the practice of many governments of subsidizing their own merchant vessels is so well established in general that a subsidy equal to the tolls, an equivalent remission of tolls, can not be held to be a discrimination in the use of the canal. The practice in the Suez Canal makes this clear. The experiment in tolls to be made by the President would doubtless disclose how great a burden of tolls the coastwise trade between the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts could bear without preventing its usefulness in competition with the transcontinental railroads. One of the chief reasons for building the canal was to set up this competition and to bring the two shores closer together as a practical trade problem. It may be that the tolls will have to be wholly remitted. I do not think this is the best principle, because I believe that the cost of such a Government work as the Panama Canal ought to be imposed gradually but certainly upon the trade which it creates and makes possible. So far as we can, consistent with the development of the world's trade through the canal and the benefit which it was intended to secure to the east and west coastwise trade, we ought to labor to secure from the canal tolls a sufficient amount ultimately to meet the debt which we have assumed and to pay the interest.

POSTAL SAVINGS SYSTEM AND PARCEL POST.

In the message of the same date the President reviewed the success of the postal savings system as follows:

On January 3, 1911, postal savings depositories were established experimentally in 48 States and Territories. After three months' successful operation the system was extended as rapidly as feasible to the 7,500 post offices of the first, second, and third classes constituting the presidential grade. By the end of the year practically all of these will have been designated, and then the system will be extended to all fourth-class post offices doing a money-order business.

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The deposits have kept pace with the extension of the system. Amounting to only $60,652 at the end of the first month's operation in the experimental offices, they increased to $679,310 by July, and now, after 11 months of operation, have reached a total of $11,000,000. This sum is distributed among 2,710 banks, and protected under the law by bonds deposited with the Treasurer of the United States.

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The depositors thus far number approximately 150,000. They include 40 nationalities, native Americans largely predominating, and English and Italians coming next.

The President renewed his previous recommendations for a parcel post and called especial attention to the expected benefit in reducing the cost of living in the following language:

Steps should be taken immediately for the establishment of a rural parcel post. * * *

It is hoped that Congress will authorize the immediate establishment of a limited parcel post on such rural routes as may be selected, providing for the delivery along the routes of parcels not exceeding 11 pounds, which is the weight limit for the international parcel post, or at the post office from which such route emanates, or on another route emanating from the same office. Such preliminary service will prepare the way for the more thorough and comprehensive inquiry contemplated in asking for the appropriation mentioned, enable the department to gain definite information concerning the practical operation of a general system, and at the same time extend the benefit of the service to a class of people who, above all others, are specially in need of it.

The suggestion that we have a general parcel post has awakened great opposition on the part of some who think that it will have the effect to destroy the business of the country storekeeper. Instead of doing this, I think the change will greatly increase business for the benefit of all. The reduction in the cost of living it will bring about ought to make its coming certain.

NATIONAL FINANCES AND MONETARY REFORM.

In his message of the same date the President said that the financial condition of the Government, as shown at the close of the last fiscal year, June 30, 1911, was very satisfactory. The interest-bearing debt of the United States on that date amounted to $915,353,190. With reference to the high credit of the United States it has been said:

> The credit of this Government was shown to be better than that of any other Government by the sale of the Panama Canal 3 per cent bonds. These bonds did not give their owners the privilege of using them as a basis for bank-note circulation, nor was there any other privilege extended to them which would affect their general market value. Their sale, therefore, measured the credit of the Government. The premium which was realized upon the bonds made the actual interest rate of the transaction 2.909 per cent.

Regarding monetary reform, among other things in this message, the President said:

> A matter of first importance that will come before Congress for action at this session is monetary reform. The Congress has itself arranged an early introduction of this great question through the report of its Monetary Commission. * * *
>
> It is exceedingly fortunate that the wise and undisputed policy of maintaining unchanged the main features of our banking system rendered it at once impossible to introduce a central bank; for a central bank would certainly have been resisted, and a plan into which it could have been introduced would probably have been defeated. But as a central bank could not be a part of the only plan discussed or considered, that troublesome question is eliminated. And ingenious and novel as the proposed National Reserve Association appears, it simply is a logical outgrowth of what is best in our present system, and is, in fact, the fulfillment of that system.

* * * * * * *

> I trust that all banks of the country possessing the requisite standards will be placed upon a footing of perfect equality of opportunity. Both the national system and the State system should be fairly recognized, leaving them eventually to coalesce, if that shall prove to be their tendency. But such evolution can not develop impartially if the banks of one system are given or permitted any advantages of opportunity over those of the other system. And I trust also that the new legislation will carefully and completely protect and assure the individuality and the independence of each bank, to the end that any tendency there may ever be toward a consolidation of the money or banking power of the Nation shall be defeated.

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> With the present prospects of this long-awaited reform encouraging us, it would be singularly unfortunate if this monetary question should by any chance become a party issue. And I sincerely hope it will not.

ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY.

In submitting the report of progress made in the inquiry into the efficiency and economy of the methods of transacting public business, in his message of January 17, 1912, the President said:

> Efficiency and economy in the Government service have been demanded with increasing insistence for a generation. Real economy is the result of efficient organization. By perfecting the organization the same benefits may be obtained at less expense. A reduction in the total of the annual appropriations is not in itself a proof of economy, since it is often accompanied by a decrease in efficiency. The needs of the Nation may demand a large increase of expenditure, yet to keep the total appropriations within the expected revenue is necessary to the maintenance of public credit.

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> The operations of the Government affect the interest of every person living within the jurisdiction of the United States. Its organization embraces stations and centers of work located in every city and in many local subdivisions of the country. Its gross expenditures amount to nearly $1,000,000 annually. Including the personnel of the Military and Naval Establishments, more than 400,000 persons are re-

quired to do the work imposed by law upon the executive branch of the Government.

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Although earnest efforts have been put forth by administrative officers and though many special inquiries have been made by the Congress, no exhaustive investigation has ever before been instituted concerning the methods employed in the transaction of public business with a view to the adoption of the practices and procedure best fitted to secure the transaction of such business with maximum dispatch, economy, and efficiency.

With large interests at stake, the Congress and the administration have never had all the information which should be currently available if the most intelligent direction is to be given to the business in hand.

I am convinced that results which are really worth while can not be secured, or at least can be secured only in small part, through the prosecution at irregular intervals of special inquiries bearing on particular services or features of administration. The benefits thus obtained must be but temporary. The problem of good administration is not one that can be solved at one time. It is a continuously present one.

In accordance with my instructions, the Commission on Economy and Efficiency, which I organized to aid me in the inquiry, has directed its efforts primarily to the formulation of concrete recommendations looking to the betterment of the fundamental conditions under which governmental operations must be carried on. With a basis thus laid, it has proceeded to the prosecution of detailed studies of individual services and classes of work and of particular practices and methods, pushing these studies as far, and covering as many points and services, as the resources and time at its disposal have permitted.

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The United States is the only great Nation whose Government is operated without a budget. This fact seems to be more striking when it is considered that budgets and budget procedures are the outgrowth of democratic doctrines and have had an important part in the development of modern constitutional rights. The American Commonwealth has suffered much from irresponsibility on the part of its governing agencies. The constitutional purpose of a budget is to make government responsive to public opinion and responsible for its acts.

A budget should be the means for getting before the legislative branch, before the press, and before the people a definite annual program of business to be financed; it should be in the nature of a prospectus both of revenues and expenditures; it should comprehend every relation of the Government to the people, whether with reference to the raising of revenues or the rendering of service.

COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

In his message of February 2, 1912, in discussing industrial relations, the President said:

The extraordinary growth of industry in the past two decades and its revolutionary changes have raised new and vital questions as to the relations between employers and wage earners which have become matters of pressing public concern. These questions have been somewhat obscured by the profound changes in the relations between competing producers and producers as a class and consumers—in other words, by the changes which, among other results, have given rise to what is commonly called the trust problem. The large-scale production characteristic of modern industry, however, involves the one set of relations no less than the other. Any interruption to the normal and peaceful relations between employer and wage earner involves public discomfort and in many cases public disaster. Such interruptions become, therefore, quite as much a matter of public concern as restraint of trade or monopoly.

Industrial relations concern the public for a double reason. We are directly interested in the maintenance of peaceful and stable industrial conditions for the sake of our own comfort and well-being; but society is equally interested, in its sovereign civic capacity, in seeing that our institutions are effectively maintaining justice and fair dealing between all classes of citizens whose economic interests may seem to clash. * * *

The special investigations that have been made of recent industrial conditions, whether private or official, have been fragmentary, incomplete, and at best only partially representative or typical. Their lessons, nevertheless, are important, and until something comprehensive and adequate is available they serve a useful purpose, and they will necessarily continue to be made. But unquestionably the time is now ripe for a searching inquiry into the subject of industrial relations which shall be official, authoritative, balanced, and well rounded, such as only the Federal Government can successfully undertake. The present widespread interest in the subject makes this an opportune time for an investigation, which in any event can not long be postponed. It should be nonpartisan, comprehensive, thorough, patient, and courageous.

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PUBLICITY FOR RAILWAY SECURITIES.

The President, in transmitting, on December 11, 1911, the report made by the Railroad Securities Commission, which was appointed under the authority of the act to create a Commerce Court, said that he heartily concurred in the recommendations of the commission, and he urged that appropriate action be taken to carry them into effect. The section of the commission's report in regard to publicity is as follows:

> In place of any added Federal requirements concerning payment for capital stock, your commission recommends the adoption of provisions regarding publicity which will show the actual facts regarding stock and bond issues in the several States and the consideration received therefor. Any railroad doing interstate business which issues bonds or stocks should be required by statute to furnish the Interstate Commerce Commission at the time of the issue with a full statement of the details of the issue, the amount of the proceeds, and the purposes for which the proceeds are to be used, followed in due time by an accounting for such proceeds, as more fully hereinafter set forth.
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> * * * * * * *
>
> * * * Every company should be required to furnish to the Interstate Commerce Commission at specified dates a full statement, including the names of the parties concerned, of all financial transactions that have taken place during the periods covered by the report, whether in cash, in securities, or in other valuable considerations, and whether embraced in income account or outside of it. This statement should also include the disposition of the surplus. Every company should be further required to compile for the information of its shareholders facts in regard to the financial transactions of the company for its fiscal year of such a character and in such form as the Interstate Commerce Commission may direct.

LESSENING THE COST OF LITIGATION.

President Taft's positive views on simplifying legal procedure and preventing delay and unnecessary cost of litigation were indicated in his message of December 21, 1911. In that message the President said:

> In promotion of the movement for the prevention of delay and unnecessary cost in litigation, I am glad to say that the Supreme Court has taken steps to reform the present equity rules of the Federal courts, and that we may in the near future expect a revision of them which will be a long step in the right direction.
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> The American Bar Association has recommended to Congress several bills expediting procedure, one of which has already passed the House unanimously February 6, 1911. This directs that no judgment should be set aside or reversed or new trial granted unless it appears to the court, after an examination of the entire cause, that the error complained of has injuriously affected the substantial rights of the parties, and also provides for the submission of issues of fact to a jury, reserving questions of law for subsequent argument and decision. I hope this bill will pass the Senate and become law, for it will simplify the procedure at law.
>
> Another bill to amend chapter 11 of the judicial code, in order to avoid errors in pleading, was presented by the same association, and one enlarging the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, so as to permit that court to examine, upon a writ of error, all cases in which any right or title is claimed under the Constitution, or any statute or treaty of the United States, whether the decision in the court below has been against the right or title or in its favor. Both these measures are in the interest of justice and should be passed.

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PLATFORM

of the

REPUBLICAN PARTY

Adopted by the National Convention

HELD AT

Chicago, Ill., June 22, 1912.

158
THE TENNY PRESS
127 Seventh Avenue
New York

Gift
N. Y. Republican
State Comm.
5.18'12

PLATFORM

of the

REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The Republican party assembled by its representatives in national convention declares its unchanging faith in government of the people, by the people, for the people. We renew our allegiance to the principles of the Republican party and our devotion to the cause of Republican institutions established by the fathers.

It is appropriate that we should now recall with a sense of veneration and gratitude the name of our first great leader, who was nominated in this city, and whose lofty principles and superb devotion to his country are an inspiration to the party to be honored—Abraham Lincoln. In the present state of public affairs we should be inspired by his broad statesmanship and by his tolerant spirit toward men.

The Republican party looks back on its record with pride and satisfaction and forward to its new responsibilities with hope and confidence. Its achievements in government constitute the most luminous pages in our history. Our greatest national advance has been made during the years of its ascendency in public affairs. It has been genuinely and always a party of progress; it has never been either stationary or reactionary. It has gone from the fulfilment of one great pledge to the fulfilment of another in response to the public need and to the popular will.

GOVERNMENT OF LAWS, NOT OF MEN.

We believe in our self-controlled representative democracy, which is a government of laws, not of men, and in which order is the prerequisite of progress.

The principles of constitutional government, which make provision for orderly and effective expression of the popular will, for the protection of civil liberty and the rights of men and for the interpretation of the law by an untrammelled and independent judiciary, have proved themselves capable of sustaining the structure of a government which, after more than a century of development, embraces one hundred millions of people, scattered over a wide and diverse territory, but bound by common purpose, common ideals and common affection to the Constitution of the United States.

Under the Constitution and the principles asserted and vitalized by it the United States has grown to be one of the great civilized and civilizing powers of the earth. It offers a home and an opportunity to the ambitious and the industrious from other lands. Resting upon the broad basis of a people's confidence and a people's support and managed by the people themselves, the Government of the United States will meet the problems of the future as satisfactorily as it has solved those of the past.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS A PARTY OF ADVANCED AND CONSTRUCTIVE STATESMANSHIP.

The Republican party is now, as always, a party of advanced and constructive statesmanship. It is prepared to go forward with the solution of those new questions which social, economic and political development have brought into the forefront of the nation's interest. It will strive, not only in the nation but in the several States, to enact the necessary legislation to safeguard the public health; to limit effectively the labor of women and children; to protect wage earners engaged in dangerous occupations; to enact comprehensive and generous workmen's compensation laws in place of the present wasteful and unjust system of employers' liability; and in all possible ways to satisfy the just demand of the people for the study and solution of the complex and constantly changing problems of social welfare.

In dealing with these questions it is important that the rights of every individual to the freest possible development of his own powers and resources and to the control of his own justly acquired property, so far as those are compatible with the rights of others, shall not be interfered with or destroyed. The social and political structure of the United States rests upon the civil liberty of the individual; and for the protection of that liberty the people have wisely, in the national and State Constitutions, put definite limitations upon themselves and upon their governmental officers and agencies. To enforce these limitations, to secure the orderly and coherent exercise of governmental powers, and to protect the rights of even the humblest and least favored individual are the function of independent courts of justice.

REAFFIRMS ITS INTENTION TO UPHOLD THE INTEGRITY OF THE COURTS, STATE AND FEDERAL.

The Republican party reaffirms its intention to uphold at all times the authority and integrity of the courts, both State and Federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their process and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate. An orderly method is provided under our system of Government by which the people may, when they choose, alter or amend the constitutional provisions which underlie that government. Until these constitutional provisions are so altered or amended, in orderly fashion, it is the duty of the courts to see to it that when challenged they are enforced.

That the courts, both Federal and State, may bear the heavy burden laid upon them to the complete satisfaction of public opinion, we favor legislation to prevent long delays and the tedious and costly appeals which have so often amounted to a denial of justice in civil cases and to a failure to protect the public at large in criminal cases.

RECALL OF JUDGES UNNECESSARY AND UNWISE.

Since the responsibility of the judiciary is so great, the standards of judicial action must be always and everywhere above suspicion and reproach. While we regard the recall of Judges as unnecessary and unwise, we favor such action as may be necessary to simplify the process by which any Judge who is found to be derelict in his duty may be removed from office.

Together with peaceful and orderly development at home, the Republican party earnestly favors all measures for the establishment and protection of the peace of the world and for the development of closer relations between the various nations of the earth. It believes most earnestly in the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and in the reference of all justiciable controversies between nations to an international court of justice.

OPPOSED TO SPECIAL PRIVILEGES AND TO MONOPOLY.

The Republican party is opposed to special privilege and to monopoly. It placed upon the statute book the Interstate Commerce act of 1887, and the important amendments thereto, and the Anti-Trust act of 1890, and it has consistently and successfully enforced the provisions of these laws. It will take no backward step to permit the re-establishment in any degree of conditions which were intolerable.

AS TO THE ANTI-TRUST ACT, MONOPOLIES AND COMBINATIONS IN TRADE.

Experience makes it plain that the business of the country may be carried on without fear or without disturbance, and at the same time without resort to practices which are abhorrent to the common sense of justice. **The Republican party favors the enactment of legislation supplementary to the existing Anti-Trust act, which will define as criminal offenses those specific acts that uniformly mark attempts to restrain and to monopolize trade, to the end that those who honestly intend to obey the law may have a guide for their action and that those who aim to violate the law may the more surely be punished. The same certainty should be given to the law prohibiting combinations and monopolies that characterizes other provisions of commercial law in order that no part of the field of business opportunity may be restricted by monopoly or combination, that business success honorably achieved may not be converted into crime and that the right of every man to acquire commodities, and particularly the necessaries of life, in an open market uninfluenced by the manipulation of trust or combination, may be preserved.**

FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION.

In the enforcement and administration of Federal laws governing interstate commerce and enterprises impressed with a public use engaged therein, there is much that may be committed to a Federal Trade Commission, thus placing in the hands of an administrative board many of the functions now necessarily exercised by the courts. This will promote promptness in the administration of the law and avoid delays and technicalities incident to court procedure.

REAFFIRMATION OF BELIEF IN A PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

We reaffirm our belief in a protective tariff. The Republican tariff policy has been of the greatest benefit to the country, developing our resources, diversifying our industries, and protecting our workmen against competition with cheaper labor abroad, thus establishing for our wage-earners the American standard of living. The protective tariff is so woven into the fabric of our industrial and agricultural life that to substitute for it a tariff for revenue only would destroy many industries and throw millions of our people out of employment. The products of the farm and of the mine should receive the same measure of protection as other products of American labor.

We hold that the import duties should be high enough, while yielding a sufficient revenue, to protect adequately American industries and wages. **Some of the existing import duties are too high, and should be reduced. Readjustment should be made from time to time to conform to changing conditions and to reduce excessive rates, but without injury to any American industry.** To accomplish this, correct information is indispensable. This information can best be obtained by an expert commission, as the large volume of useful facts contained in the recent reports of the Tariff Board has demonstrated.

The pronounced feature of modern industrial life is its enormous diversification. To apply tariff rates justly to these changing conditions requires closer study and more scientific methods than ever before. **The Republican party has shown by its creation of a Tariff Board its recognition of this situation and its determination to be equal to it. We condemn the Democratic party for its failure either to provide funds for the continuance of this board or to make some other provision for securing the information requisite for intelligent tariff legislation.** We protest against the Democratic method of legislating on these vital important subjects without careful investigation.

We condemn the Democratic tariff bills passed by the House of Representatives of the Sixty-second Congress, as sectional, as injurious to the public credit, and as destructive of business enterprise.

THE PARTY PROMISES A SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATION AS TO THE CAUSES OF THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

The steadily increasing cost of living has become a matter not only of national, but of world-wide concern. The fact that it is not due to the protective tariff system is evidenced by the existence of similar conditions in countries which have a tariff policy different from our own, as well as by the fact that the cost of living has increased while rates of duty have remained stationary or been reduced. The Republican party will support a prompt, scientific inquiry into the causes which are operative both in the United States and elsewhere to increase the cost of living. When the exact facts are known it will take the necessary steps to remove any abuses that may be found to exist, in order that the cost of the food, clothing and shelter of the people may in no way be unduly or artificially increased.

BANKING AND CURRENCY.

The Republican party has always stood for a sound currency and for safe banking methods. It is responsible for the resumption of specie payments, and for the establishment of the gold standard. It is committed to the progressive development of our banking and currency systems. Our banking arrangements to-day need further revision to meet the requirements of current conditions. We need measures which will prevent the recurrence of money panics and financial disturbances and which will promote the prosperity of business and the welfare of labor by producing constant employment. We need better currency facilities for the movement of crops in the West and South. We need banking arrangements under American auspices for the encouragement and better conduct of our foreign trade. In attaining these ends the independence of individual banks, whether organized under national or State charters, must be carefully protected and our banking and currency system must be safeguarded from any possibility of domination by sectional, financial or political interests.

AS TO LOANING FUNDS TO FARMERS.

It is of great importance to the social and economic welfare of this country that its farmers have facilities for borrowing easily and cheaply the money they need to increase the productivity of their land. It is as important that financial machinery be provided to supply the demand of farmers for credit as it is that the banking and currency systems be reformed in the interest of general business. Therefore, we recommend and urge an authoritative investigation of agricultural credit societies and corporations in other countries, and the passage of State and Federal laws for the establishment and capable supervision of organizations having for their purpose the loaning of funds to farmers.

THE CIVIL SERVICE.

We reaffirm our adherence to the principle of appointment to public office based on proved fitness, and tenure during good behavior and efficiency. The Republican party stands committed to the maintenance, extension and enforcement of the Civil Service law, and it favors the passage of legislation empowering the President to extend the competitive service so far as practicable. We favor legislation to make possible the equitable retirement of disabled and superannuated members of the Civil Service, in order that a higher standard of efficiency may be maintained.

THE FEDERAL EMPLOYERS' LIABILITY LAW.

We favor the amendment of the Federal Employers' Liability law so as to extend its provision to all Government employees, as well as to provide a more liberal scale of compensation for injury and death.

CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS.

We favor such additional legislation as may be necessary more effectually to prohibit corporations from contributing funds, directly or indirectly, to campaigns for the nomination or election of the President, the Vice-President, Senators and Representatives in Congress. We heartily approve the recent act of Congress requiring the fullest publicity in regard to all campaign contributions, whether made in connection with primaries, conventions or elections.

CONSERVATION POLICY.

We rejoice in the success of the distinctive Republican policy of the conservation of our national resources, for their use by the people without waste and without monopoly. We pledge ourselves to a continuance of such a policy.

We favor such fair and reasonable rules and regulations as will not discourage or interfere with actual bona fide home-seekers, prospectors and miners in the acquisition of public lands under existing laws.

FAVOR A PARCELS POST.

In the interest of the general public and particularly of the agricultural or rural communities, **we favor legislation looking to the establishment under proper regulations of a parcels post,** the postal rates to be graduated under a zone system in proportion to the length of carriage.

PROTECTION OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP.

We approve the action taken by the President and the Congress to secure with Russia, as with other countries, a treaty that will recognize the absolute right of expatriation and that will prevent all discrimination of whatever kind between American citizens, whether native born or alien, and regardless of race, religion or previous political allegiance. The right of asylum is a precious possession of the people of the United States and it is to be neither surrendered nor restricted.

BELIEF IN AN ADEQUATE NAVY.

We believe in the maintenance of an adequate navy for the national defense and we condemn the action of the Democratic House of Representatives in refusing to authorize the construction of additional ships.

MERCHANT MARINE.

We believe that one of the country's most urgent needs is a revived merchant marine. There should be American ships, and plenty of them, to make use of the great American inter-oceanic canal now nearing completion.

FLOOD PREVENTION IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY.

The Mississippi River is the nation's drainage ditch. Its flood waters, gathered from thirty-one States and the Dominion of Canada, constitute an overpowering force which breaks the levees and pours its torrents over many million acres of the richest land in the Union, stopping mails, impeding commerce and causing great loss of life and property. These floods are national in scope, and the disasters they produce seriously affect the general welfare. The States unaided cannot cope with this giant problem; hence, we believe the Federal Government should assume a fair proportion of the burden of its control, so as to prevent the disasters from recurring floods.

RECLAMATION OF ARID LANDS.

We favor the continuance of the policy of the Government with regard to the reclamation of arid lands; and for the encouragement of the speedy settlement and improvement of such lands we favor an amendment to the law that will reasonably extend the time within which the cost of any reclamation project may be repaid by the landowners under it.

RIVERS AND HARBORS.

We favor a liberal and systematic policy for the improvement of our rivers and harbors. Such improvements should be made upon expert information and after a careful comparison of cost and prospective benefits.

ALASKA.

We favor a liberal policy toward Alaska to promote the development of the great resources of that district, with such safeguards as will prevent waste and monopoly.

FAVOR OPENING OF ALASKA'S COAL LANDS.

We favor the opening of the coal lands to development through a law leasing the lands on such terms as will invite development and provide fuel for the navy and the commerce of the Pacific Ocean, while retaining title in the United States to prevent monopoly.

PHILIPPINE POLICY.

The Philippine policy of the Republican party has been and is inspired by the belief that our duty toward the Filipino people is a national obligation which should remain entirely free from partisan politics.

IMMIGRATION.

We pledge the Republican party to the enactment of appropriate laws to give relief from the constantly growing evil of induced or undesirable immigration, which is inimical to the progress and welfare of the people of the United States.

SAFETY AT SEA.

We favor the speedy enactment of laws to provide that seamen shall not be compelled to endure involuntary servitude, and that life and property at sea shall be safeguarded by the ample equipment of vessels with life-saving appliances and with full complements of skilled, able-bodied seamen to operate them.

REPUBLICAN ACCOMPLISHMENT.

The approaching completion of the Panama Canal, the establishment of a bureau of mines, the institution of postal savings banks, the increased provision made in 1912 for the aged and infirm soldiers and sailors of the Republic and for their widows, and the vigorous administration of the laws relating to pure food and drugs —all mark the successful progress of Republican administration and are additional evidence of its effectiveness.

ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT.

We commend the earnest effort of the Republican administration to secure greater economy and increased efficiency in the conduct of Government business. Extravagant appropriations and the creation of unnecessary offices are an injustice to the taxpayer and a bad example to the citizen.

CIVIC DUTY.

We call upon the people to quicken their interest in public affairs, to condemn and punish lynchings and other forms of lawlessness, and to strengthen in all possible ways a respect for law and the observance of it. Indifferent citizenship is an evil from which the law affords no adequate protection, and for which legislation can provide no remedy.

ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO.

We congratulate the people of Arizona and New Mexico upon the admission of those States, thus merging in the Union in final and enduring form the last remaining portion of our continental territory.

REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATIONS INDORSED.

We challenge successful criticism of the sixteen years of Republican Administration under Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt and Taft. We heartily reaffirm the indorsement of President McKinley contained in the platforms of 1900 and of 1904, and that of President Roosevelt contained in the platforms of 1904 and 1908.

We invite the intelligent judgment of the American people upon the Administration of William H. Taft. The country has prospered and been at peace under his Presidency. During the years in which he had the co-operation of a Republican Congress an unexampled amount of constructive legislation was framed and passed in the interest of the people and in obedience to their wish. That legislation is a record on which any Administration might appeal with confidence to the favorable judgment of history.

We appeal to the American electorate upon the record of the Republican party, and upon this declaration of its principles and purposes. We are confident that under the leadership of the candidates here to be nominated our appeal will not be in vain; that the Republican party will meet every just expectation of the people whose servant it is; that under its Administration and its laws our nation will continue to advance; that peace and prosperity will abide with the people, and that new glory will be added to the great Republic.

6

EXTRAORDINARY SUCCESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT'S ADMINISTRATION

SPEECH

OF

HON. MARLIN E. OLMSTED

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SATURDAY, JUNE 25, 1910

WASHINGTON
1910

SPEECH

OF

HON. MARLIN E. OLMSTED.

On the bill (H. R. 3250) providing for publicity for contributions made for the purpose of influencing elections at which Representatives in Congress are elected.

Mr. OLMSTED said:

Mr. SPEAKER: I am a member of the House committee which reported this bill in its original form. The Senate has made some amendments which may not commend themselves to us all, but the conferees have reached an agreement concerning them, and it is manifest upon this last day of the session that, unless this conference report is adopted, no bill at all can be passed. I am in favor of agreeing to the conference report and shall so vote. The gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUCKER] has dwelt somewhat upon the expense of securing nominations in certain places. I wish this bill might have been made to include the expense of nominations, as well as of elections; but the gentleman knows very well that the objections came from his own side of the House. A great majority of the Democrats upon this floor, and nearly all of those from Southern States, represent districts where the whole fight centers upon the nomination. The elections are entirely one-sided—mere formalities—at which hardly any votes are cast. Gentlemen from such districts are perfectly willing to have their election expense accounts published, but will never vote for publicity of nomination expenses. In Pennsylvania we have a State law requiring publicity of both nomination and election expenses. Nomination expenses are published before election, so that every one may know in what manner and by what means the candidate secures his nomination. When the gentleman from Missouri introduces his new bill at the next session, I hope he will include publicity of nomination expenses. I shall be glad to vote for that proposition, but venture to predict that it will have very little support upon his side of the House. This bill already has been sufficiently discussed in detail. It will pass before we adjourn, and thus another of President Taft's recommendations will be enacted into law.

EXTRAORDINARY SUCCESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT'S ADMINISTRATION.

About some very worthy, distinguished, and eminently successful officials there is ever an air of anticipation and there is inevitable publicity and sensation both before and after the fact. Ofttimes this serves a very useful purpose. Other officials are quiet and undemonstrative, but get there just the same. The difference is largely one of temperament and of habit. President Taft was for many years a judge. He acquired, and there still rests upon him, the judicial habit of calm deliberation and of not saying much in advance about what he is going to do. He has not endeavored to appeal to the sensational side of our natures, but he has been going steadily forward in the course which he had mapped out.

If it has been marked by judicial calmness and deliberation of judgment, it has also been marked by great determination and by great firmness of execution. The people are just beginning to discover how wonderfully successful his administration has been and is, and that, for an administration so young, it is unprecedentedly rich in accomplishment. The Republicans of Pennsylvania, in their convention on Wednesday of this week, sounded a clear note, which has awakened pleasing echoes throughout the United States. This is an extract from their platform:

> We heartily indorse and commend the administration of President William H. Taft, which, less than sixteen months old, is unique in its record of accomplishment. He has, in his own way, carried forward and developed the policies of William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt, while enforcing his own and those in favor of which the party has in national platform declared. With unwearying patience and gentleness of manner, but with great firmness of purpose and unyielding determination, he will, by the time the gavel falls at the close of the present session of Congress, have succeeded in securing the enactment into law of more important recommendations than any other President has ever secured within so brief a time after his inauguration. Among this legislation may be mentioned the revision of the tariff; the bill for the more complete regulation and control of railroads; the establishment of postal savings banks; the creation of a Bureau of Mines; the punishment of the white-slave traffic; the creation of a tariff board; the abolition of the immunity bath; the establishment of business methods in various government departments; legislation for the conservation of our natural resources; the creation of a Commerce Court; providing for the investigation of railway accidents and monthly reports of the same; important legislation amending and extending the laws requiring the use of safety appliances for common carriers; the passage through the House of a bill providing a complete constitution for the government of Porto Rico, in pursuance of his special message, and conferring citizenship according to the promise of the party platform; and the addition of two stars to the flag.
>
> We also call especial attention to his prompt and effective intervention to prevent the arbitrary increase of railway rates; his faithful and impartial enforcement of the antitrust laws; his enforcement of the law against illegal dealing in stocks through the instrumentality of what are commonly termed "bucket shops;" the conviction of the perpetrators of the so-called sugar frauds upon the Government; and the indictment of those engaged in unlawfully cornering and artificially advancing the price of cotton and necessarily of cotton goods, which enter to so large an extent into the expenses of every American family.

To the list of accomplished legislation there will be added the concurrent resolution passed finally this morning, providing for a commission to investigate the very important matter of employer's liability and workman's compensation, and this bill for publicity of campaign contributions. The great volume of exceedingly important and beneficial legislation that stands to the credit of this Congress, as well as of the President, is of itself sufficient to commend both to the indorsement and praise of the American people; but the success of President Taft's administration extends also into other fields.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

President Taft, when he called to be premier of his administration that distinguished son of Pennsylvania, Philander C. Knox, who had so admirably and successfully filled the great office of Attorney-General under President Roosevelt, commanded at once the confidence of the people, and a brief reference to the records of that department will show that their confidence was not misplaced.

This Congress passed a measure in the legislative, executive, and judicial bill under which the Department of State has been radically reorganized and brought up-to-date as an office for the administration of our foreign affairs. The measure created specific permanent posts for experts and other highly trained persons appointed by the Secretary of State and added to the department's personnel for the more efficient conduct of the trade and treaty relations of the United States. The measure also affords a small sum for emergency employments in the District of Columbia or elsewhere for the same general purposes.

The present administration has rigorously upheld, and by so doing has the more firmly established, the consular-service reform of 1906. By the executive order of November, 1909, President Taft gave a Magna Charta to the diplomatic service of the United States. By that order following the consular reform the foreign service of the United States, both diplomatic and consular, has been placed upon a basis of vitality and efficiency hitherto unknown. These reforms, with a reorganized Department of State to give instructions to the foreign service and to carry on negotiations with foreign governments, have given the American people for the first time a really coherent machine for the carrying on of their vast international relations.

The Department of State has been divided into groups of specialists, many of whom have served in the particular countries dealt with, and in this way American interests in every part of the world can receive scientific study as the basis for their efficient and intelligent protection and furtherance. The exporter can find at the department men whose business it is to give him first-hand information as to the foreign field he desires to exploit. By the increase and specialization of the law office of the department American claims against foreign governments can receive prompter attention. Through the perfection of the Bureau of Trade Relations commercial opportunities can be more vigilently safeguarded and made known to those desiring to do foreign business.

Consular appointments and appointments to diplomatic secretaryships are open, irrespective of political partisanship, to candidates from all the States and Territories, and once they have passed the difficult examinations now required and have been appointed in the service their promotion depends solely upon proved efficiency. As showing the nonpartisan character of the reform foreign service, I can hardly do better than refer to the letter which the Secretary of State on March 12, 1910, addressed to Mr. HULL, who had raised the question of southern representation in the service, and which, with some of its inclosures, was printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, and which I ask to have again printed as part of these remarks.

This Congress, as I have shown, has accomplished an unprecedented amount of useful legislation; but I desire to call attention to the provision it has made for the reorganization of the State Department, which alone gives practical value and efficiency to all these reforms which mark a new epoch in the history of American diplomacy.

The address of President Taft at Pittsburg on May 2, 1910, and the address delivered at the University of Pennsylvania on the 15th of June, wherein the Secretary of State gave a masterly survey of the spirit and purpose of American diplomacy, will indicate this new epoch.

Due to no desire to bring particular officials into prominence, but simply because of the serious conviction that the public should understand the true facts of the present-day diplomacy of their country, I shall insert them as part of my remarks.

It is only now commencing to be understood what these things mean to the great mass of practical people and business men. Besides maintaining the dignity and political position of the United States among the nations of the world these activities mean the creation by treaties, conventions, and good offices and the maintenance, by constant vigilance, of conditions under which is possible the vast expansion of our foreign commerce, which has only now begun, but which, with increased production, will soon mean so vital a matter as the employment or idleness of a large portion of our industrial workers.

The innovation of a double tariff entailed negotiations of great complexity which have had the remarkable result of giving us for the first time substantially most-favored-nation treatment in all countries. Great benefits to the commerce of the United States have been accomplished as a direct result of the recent tariff negotiations conducted by the Secretary of State in connection with the application of our new double tariff. Prior to April 1, when the maximum and minimum features of this tariff law became effective, the conditions affecting American commerce in every country in the world had been carefully examined by the tariff officers of the Government and the fact ascertained that there was no undue discrimination against the United States and its products. A series of 134 proclamations attesting this fact was issued in favor of as many countries and colonial possessions, embracing in the aggregate all responsible governments. In the course of this examination, however, some instances of discrimination against the United States were found, and negotiations were opened with a view to their correction. During these negotiations material improvement of the conditions affecting American commerce abroad was brought about.

The policy of this Government was to ask from each foreign government which uses a double tariff system the recognition of the principle of the exchange of their minimum tariff for our minimum tariff; or, compensatory concessions for any exceptions made in the grant of the minimum tariff of the foreign country. These conditions of reciprocal exchange for the benefit of the mutual commerce were recognized by all foreign governments, with the result that by the 31st of March all instances of undue tariff discrimination against the United States in foreign countries had been swept away and American commerce had been assured substantial equality of tariff treatment with the commerce of competing nations.

Germany granted to all American products her complete and unqualified conventional or minimum tariff rates, and abolished her former restrictive regulation, which required imports of American pork meats to be accompanied by certificates showing their microscopic inspection in the United States, thereby removing the obstacle which had effectually prevented their entry into the German Empire.

France granted to American products her minimum tariff rates on about 97 per cent, including goods on the free list, of her total importations from the United States, thereby giving equality of tariff treatment, for the first time, to the numerous classes of important American commodities, such as agricultural implements and machinery and machine tools.

The Government of Austria-Hungary abolished its restrictive regulation affecting the importation of American pork meats, so that these products henceforth will be admitted when accompanied by the ordinary federal certificates of inspection.

Greece reduced by one-half her former high duties on lubricating oil and cotton-seed oil, both largely imported from the United States.

Brazil added several commodities to the list of American products entitled to the preferential reduction of 20 per cent.

Several other countries have made specific improvement in their laws and practices affecting the American import trade as the direct result of these negotiations.

During the tariff negotiations portentous rumors were heard of a trade war with Canada, but the war feeling did not animate either government. Adjustment was sought in a spirit of mutual good will. It was obtained. In consequence the trade relations between the United States and Canada are now friendly, as they should be between neighbors which have so much in common. The United States, as its nearest and biggest neighbor, has nearly one-half of the trade of the Dominion. Canada is a good market for the United States, and the United States is a good market for Canada.

In the future, by establishing closer commercial relations on the basis of reciprocity, each will be a better customer of the other. Both will profit and prosper by such an arrangement. The policy of broader and closer trade relations with Canada meets with the hearty approval of the people of the United States. The Canadian government has declared its cordial reciprocation of our desire to improve the commercial relations between the two countries and has indicated its readiness to take up this fall negotiations for the readjustment of those relations upon broad and liberal lines.

It is not possible to translate actually into terms of dollars and cents what the reorganized foreign service is doing day by day for American business, but a few examples may illustrate the reality and value of the work. The consular service makes annually some 12,000 commercial reports, which are in turn distributed for the benefit of the trades concerned. Last year one such report secured for American firms orders for $6,000 worth of agricultural machinery, of a hundred miles of woven-wire fencing for South Africa; another brought to the United States an order from India for a bridge costing half a million dollars; another resulted in a shipment of sixteen carloads of machinery to Siberia. Quite recently the diplomatic service, in the face of the most acute European competition, brought about the award of contracts by the Argentine Government whereby two gigantic battle ships, with their armament, are to be constructed in the United States, with an expenditure in American labor and materials of the huge sum of $23,000,000. A steel company on the Pacific coast has signed a contract, brought about by the efforts of one of our consuls, involving business with the Chinese of a value estimated at $35,000,000. Nowadays trade and diplomacy go hand in hand, and these few examples, which might be almost indefinitely multiplied, will show what the reorganized foreign service means to the American business man, laborer, artisan, and farmer; in short, to all who profit by prosperity and who look to the future.

Among other respects in which the foreign policies of this administration directly affect the citizen may be mentioned generally the active support being given all legitimate and beneficial American enterprises in the foreign field, the jealous protection of our citizens abroad wherever they may be, and the temperate but firm insistence upon their just rights. [Applause.]

In this spirit has been settled the Alsop case in Chile, wherein the claims of American citizens had lain unadjusted for nearly thirty years despite frequent negotiations, and the settlement of the Emery claim against Nicaragua.

This brings me to the Nicaraguan policy, than which none could be more simple and just, but than which none has been so much misunderstood, or rather, perhaps, distorted. Partisan criticism by partisan newspapers is easily explained, although when carried to extremes in a matter of foreign relations it passes the border of what is unpatriotic and may even contravene the spirit of section 5335 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, which reads as follows:

> Every citizen of the United States, whether actually residing or abiding within the same or in any foreign country, who, without the permission or authority of the Government, directly or indirectly, commences or carries on any verbal or written correspondence or intercourse with any foreign government, or any officer or agent thereof, with an intent to influence the measures or conduct of any foreign government, or of any officer or agent thereof, in relation to any disputes or controversies with the United States, or to defeat the measures of the Government of the United States; and every person, being a citizen of, or resident within, the United States, and not duly authorized, who counsels, advises, or assists in any such correspondence, with such intent, shall be punished by a fine of not more than $5,000 and by imprisonment during a term of not less than six months nor more than three years; but nothing in this section shall be construed to abridge the right of a citizen to apply, himself or his agent, to any foreign government or the agents thereof for redress of any injuries which he may have sustained from such government, or any of its agents or subjects.

On December 1, 1909, by the President's direction, the Secretary of State addressed a letter to the then chargé d'affaires of Nicaragua whereby this Government broke off diplomatic relations with Mr. Zelaya, who, in the guise of president of a constitutional republic, had long been pursuing a course too outrageous to justify the United States in continuing to receive his representative and thus apparently sanctioning this career of crime and oppression, which had culminated in the brutal and illegal killing of Groce and Cannon, two American citizens, the latter the son of one of my own constituents, by the direct and responsible order of Zelaya himself. The letter of December 1 clearly sets forth the attitude and policy of this Government in Nicaragua and the lines then laid down have been followed ever since and have been amply justified by events.

The revolution going on in Nicaragua began as a revolution against Zelaya and Zelayaism. If there emerges from it any government just to its own citizens and regardful of foreign interests, it will be a happy day for the Nicaraguan people. During the course of the revolution our Government has held the factions de facto in control of the respective portions of Nicaragua responsible for the protection of Americans in their persons and property. Naval forces have from time to time been stationed on each coast for this purpose. Suffice it to say that the interests of American citizens have been most effectively protected, which has been the great concern of our Government. From time to time admonitions have been addressed to either faction. The United States refused to allow the collection of duties by both factions on the same goods, and refused to allow the bombardment of or fighting in ungarrisoned commercial towns where there are large foreign interests. Our Government also refused to allow blockade by a vessel which left an American port as a merchantman, but was in fact a vessel of war. When it is recalled that legitimate American interests at Bluefields and vicinity alone amount to over $10,000,000, and that about 90 per cent of the foreign interests in eastern Nicaragua are American, the material importance of these measures will be clear. In general our Government has been and is pursuing a policy sound in international law, sound in morals, and conservative in spirit. [Applause.]

Although that policy has been so simple in essence, yet the complexity and variety of the problems presented by the struggle now going on in Nicaragua, problems quite out of proportion to the forces concerned, have made the applications of the policy appear, perhaps, complicated to those not in possession of the actual facts; therefore, to make it easy to trace the thread of this Government's policy in Nicaragua, which, due to the proximity to that country and the interests of the United States in the zone of the Caribbean has excited considerable interest, I ask to have printed as part of these remarks, without reading, the following papers, which merely contain information made public by the Government from time to time:

The Secretary of State to the Nicaraguan chargé d'affaires, December 1, 1909.

The American consul at Bluefields to the Secretary of State, telegram, April 26, 1910.

The Secretary of State to the president of the Central American court of justice, telegram, May 3, 1910.

The Central American court of justice to the Secretary of State, telegram, May 11, 1910.

The Central American court of justice to the Secretary, May 5, 1910.

The Bluefields Steamship Company to the Secretary of State, telegram, November 17, 1909.

The United Fruit Company to the Secretary of State, telegram, November 20, 1909.

The Secretary of State to the Bluefields Steamship Company, telegram, November 21, 1909.

The Secretary of State to the American consul at Bluefields, telegram, November 21, 1909.

The Acting Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, May 18, 1910.

The Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy, May 24, 1910.

The Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, June 7, 1910.

Bellangers (Incorporated) and 16 other corporations and firms to the Secretary of State, telegram, May 25, 1910.

The Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, May 17, 1910.

The American consul at Bluefields to the Secretary of State, No. 151, May 25, 1910.

The Acting Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, May 31. 1910.

The Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy, June 3, 1910.

The American consul at Bluefields to the Secretary of State, June 5, 1910.

In the Far East this Government has secured for American capital equal participation in the Hukuang loan for a great railway system. Only thus could equality of opportunity to supply a quantity of railway material be secured to this country, to say nothing of the safeguarding of American prestige, treaty rights, and equality of opportunity in China.

How practically this administration has followed the "open-door" policy of John Hay is seen from the proposal for the neutralization of railroads in Manchuria and the present project of the international financing and construction of a new railway in that region. If there is anyone who does not understand how the Government can bring capital to cooperate in such matters for the national rather than individual benefit, he would do well to read an article called Our Dollar Diplomacy and Secretary Knox, in Harper's Weekly of April 23, which I ask to have printed as part of my remarks.

The proposal of a practical way to the early establishment of a permanent court of international arbitration at The Hague has been received with enthusiasm by lovers of peace the world over, and it has been so well received by foreign governments that there seems excellent prospect of the early realization of this great ideal.

The Department of State is now supporting the plan of American bankers to rehabilitate the finances of Honduras, so that development, stability, and prosperity may be possible in that rich but debt-ridden country. In connection with this plan the Secretary of State in his recent address referred to the principle involved in the following language:

> The Santo Domingo plan was vigorously opposed in and out of Congress by those who regarded it as a deviation from our policy of aloofness from participation in the internal affairs of other countries. I suppose it was a departure, but if this Government can help to upbuild its neighbors and promote the thought that the capital of the more advanced nations of the world would be better employed in assisting the peaceful development of those more backward than in financing wars, it is such a deviation from traditions as the American people will approve.

Upon the same principle and true to its traditional policy, in which a large section of the people of this country feel a particular interest, this Government is supporting a plan for giving financial and other assistance to the Republic of Liberia, which was founded by American philanthropists for colonization by American negroes.

To give some further impression of the scope and activity of this great branch of the Government's work, I will mention, without attempting to explain in detail, a few more points: The securing from the Chinese and Japanese Governments of definite assurances that no monopoly of mining rights in Manchuria was claimed as against citizens of the United States; jealous watchfulness to see that there be no undue discrimination or unfair competition detrimental to our cotton trade in China; insistence upon our treaty rights at Harbin on the Russian-leased railway in Manchuria and upon the principle of the "open door" and respect for Chinese sovereignty in that zone; the settlement of all the claims against Venezuela, the last of which will be arbitrated at The Hague this fall; the elimination of Castro, who formerly tyrannized over Venezuela; the insistence upon the ability of Peru and Bolivia themselves to reach a dignified settlement of their acute boundary trouble of last year; tripartite mediation to avert war between Ecuador and Peru, whereby, at the initiative of this Government, the United States, the Argentine Republic, and the United States of Brazil brought to this hemisphere the honor of first invoking the most far-reaching provisions of the The Hague Convention; early settlement of the long-standing Chamizal boundary question with Mexico, involving the sovereignity of a portion of the city of El Paso, Tex., has been provided for by a convention signed in June; the encouragement of a Pan-American bank; the securing of assurances from Cuba that no commercial agreements will be negotiated without prior consultation with the United States, thus safeguarding the equity of our reciprocity agreement; mediation whereby the long-standing Costa Rica-Panama boundary question was, under the auspices of our Government, referred to arbitration by the Chief Justice of the United States; negotiations with Turkey, which are still going on, for a great American railway in that Empire and for equal opportunity for American shipbuilders to bid for construction of ships for the Turkish navy; supporting the American contracts whereby the sanitary conditions of Habana are to be made entirely good; negotiations looking to the maintenance of the status quo of Spitzbergen as a "no-man's" land and to its policing and the protection of property of which a large portion belongs to citizens of the United States in that region; bringing all the interested powers together in a conference for the regulation of the opium traffic, to assist China in expurgating the evil; the century-old North Atlantic fisheries dispute is now being arbitrated at The Hague; negotiations to prevent undue raising of the price of potash, which is produced only in Germany and which is necessary to the fertilizers used on American farms; treaty revision in Siam, and so forth; not to mention the vast number of items of business of a similar character dealt with from day to day and the great number of matters which have not reached the stage to be appropriate for discussion.

I think it must be evident that the branch of the Government responsible for our foreign relations is preeminently one which works for the good of each and every American, whatever his activities and whatever his section of the country. I do not think it is generally known what a vast increase there now is in this branch of government activity. I think that the manner in which the work is being done needs only to be more generally understood to be universally appreciated. [Applause.]

At this point, under leave of the House, I hand to the Reporter, to be printed as part of my remarks, the following documents:

[The Secretary of State to Representative HULL, March 12, 1910.]

LETTER OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, March 12, 1910.

MY DEAR MR. HULL: In compliance with your suggestion when you visited the department a few days ago, I now take pleasure in confirming the statements made to you in regard to the efforts which have been and are being made to improve the diplomatic and consular service and to bring about proportional representation therein of all the States and Territories, including the cotton-producing States.

Formerly our diplomatic and consular officers were chosen largely for political reasons, and, with the exception of a few classes of consuls, no adequate test was made of their intellectual or personal fitness for the discharge of the duties thereafter to devolve upon them. No effort whatever was made to distribute appointments to the foreign service proportionally among the several States and Territories, and the result was that a few States furnished most of the candidates, leaving the other States, and especially those of the South, with little and often no representation.

It is not to be denied that even with that unsatisfactory method of selecting men for appointment this Government was represented abroad by a number of efficient and creditable diplomatic and consular officers. But as a whole the foreign service was sadly lacking both in organization and in uniform efficiency of the individual officers, and was utterly unequal to the task of properly safeguarding and promoting our commercial and other interests abroad.

With a view to changing these conditions in so far as they related to the consular service, Congress passed the act of April 5, 1906, which provided salaries for all consuls-generals and consuls, and required them to devote all their energies to their official duties by prohibiting them from engaging in private business and from receiving any compensation other than that regularly paid them by the Government. The act, moreover, sought to Americanize the service not only by requiring all consuls to be Americans, but by causing all except the lower-grade clerical positions to be filled by American citizens, and it also provided that the various consulates should be inspected once every two years by officers chosen from among the most experienced consuls-general and consuls in the service, who should forward full reports of the inspection direct to the Secretary of State.

The classification of the various consulates according to their relative importance made possible for the first time the promotion of consuls as a reward for efficient service, thus offering an incentive for them to devote their best efforts to the discharge of their official duties. In order to make this portion of the act effective, as well as to provide for an adequate test of the fitness of candidates for appointment to the consular service, the President issued an order on June 27, 1906, requiring that all new appointments thereafter be made to the two lowest grades of the service, and that posts in higher grades be filled by the promotion of officers in the lower grades who had discharged their duties with a high degree of efficiency. The order expressly stipulates that—

"No promotion shall be made except for efficiency, as shown by the work that the officer has accomplished, the ability, promptness, and diligence displayed by him in the performance of all his official duties, his conduct, and his fitness for the consular service."

This rule has been and is being followed with the utmost strictness, and to aid in the effective application of it a careful and detailed record is kept of the work of each officer, and that record forms the basis of action with respect to promotions as well as removals.

The order further requires that the qualifications and fitness of candidates for appointment to the consular service shall be determined by an examination before a board of examiners of which the Chief Examiner of the Civil Service Commission is a member. Among the subjects which are embraced in the examination are one foreign language, the natural, industrial, and commercial resources and commerce of the

United States, especially with reference to the possibilities of increasing and extending the trade of the United States; political economy; elements of international, commercial, and maritime law; and political and commercial geography. Besides the educational test, an oral test is given for the purpose of determining the candidate's business ability as revealed by his past occupation and conduct, his alertness, general information, natural fitness for the service, including moral and physical qualifications, and his character and address.

The thoroughness of these examinations is shown to some extent by the results. Since the promulgation of the executive order of 1906, 262 persons have been examined for the consular service, of whom 126 have passed and have been certified as eligible for appointment. The high type of men appointed under this system, and the superior character of the work they are doing, has shown conclusively the wisdom of requiring a comprehensive and practical test of elegibility for appointment.

Among the other provisions of the order mentioned there is one which touches directly upon the subject of your inquiries, namely, the requirement that—

"In designations for appointment subject to examination and in appointments after examination due regard will be had to the rule that as beween candidates of equal merit appointments should be so made as to secure proportional representation of all the States and Territories in the consular service; and neither in the designation for examination or certification or appointment will the political affiliations of the candidate be considered."

In the enforcement of this rule no reasonable effort has been spared to bring about more adequate representation of the Southern States in the consular service. While as a rule there have been many candidates from the Northern States, there has been real difficulty in obtaining a sufficient number of well-qualified candidates from the Southern States. With a view to interesting the young men of the South in the foreign service the department has from time to time addressed letters to heads of educational institutions as well as to the Senators from the Southern States. In September, 1906, the following letter was sent by the department to colleges throughout the South:

"I inclose herewith circulars in reference to an examination which is to be held at this department on October 1 next, to fill several vacancies in the position of student interpreter, and request that you allow them to be distributed among your students. Any number may take the examination."

In May, 1909, the attention of the Senators from a number of the Southern States was invited to the lack of representation of those States in the foreign service. One of these letters reads in part as follows:

"Texas is much below her proportional representation in the foreign service of the country, and there should properly be some appointments made from that State in accordance with the effort which the administration is now making to have the foreign service fairly representative of all sections of the country, instead of having its members drawn from a comparatively few States.

"I should be very glad of any information or suggestion which you may feel disposed to make upon the question of designating * * * for examination with a view to appointment."

Another of these letters is in part as follows:

"MY DEAR SENATOR: You will recall that in accordance with paragraph 12 of the executive order of June 27, 1906, both designations for examinations for the consular service and subsequent appointments therein are being made with a view to equalizing the representation of the different States in the service in proportion to their population and without regard to political affiliations.

"Inasmuch as your State's representation in the consular service is now below its proportional quota, some consular appointments can be made from it if only some well-qualified candidates will apply to be designated for examination. Of course it is essential that candidates for this service be men of a fine type and of real fitness, worthy to exemplify their countrymen abroad. It is hoped that such will offer themselves from underrepresented States since they must be sought, in the end, wherever they can be found.

"Venturing to hope that you are interested in the improvement of the consular service, I have pleasure in informing you of the results so far accomplished in pursuance of the President's order of June 27, 1906, in relation to appointments and promotions.

"The first examination to test the eligibility of candidates for the consular service held under the order took place on March 14 and 15 last. Of the 23 persons designated for examination from States below their proportionate representation in the service, 18 appeared and were examined, with the result that 10 received the required mark of 80 and were certified by the board of examiners as eligible for appointment. The ages of these eligibles range from 26 to 43, four being above 35, three between 26 and 30. Six of the eligibles have had practical business experience and four have had professional or journalistic training. Seven of the successful candidates have already been appointed to lower grades of the service.

"I inclose for your information a pamphlet containing the executive order, the rules governing examinations, a brief outline of consular duties, and the list of questions used in the first examination, together with a note as to the nature of the oral examination.

"There remains a considerable number of vacancies in consulates, in consular clerkships, and in the corps of student interpreters in China and Japan. With a view to filling these vacancies, the next examination will be held here on July 9."

As a result of these efforts, 131 men have been designated for examination from the Southern States. Of these, only 81 reported for examination, 30 passed the examination, and up to the present time 25 of the successful candidates have been appointed, while the names of 4 remain on the eligible list awaiting appointment. For convenient reference the following statement of the results of these examinations and their relation to the resolution introduced by you is inserted:

	Total number.	Total number and percentage from the 12 States named in the resolution.
Designations	396	131, or 33+ per cent.
Examined	262	81, or 30− per cent.
Passed	126	30, or 23.8 per cent.
Failed	136	51, or 37.5 per cent.
Appointed	90	25, or 27+ per cent.
On eligible list	31	4.
Who declined appointment	2	0.
Disqualified	1	1.

Total number of places apportioned	360
Total number of places due the 12 States named in the resolution	92.88
Percentage of places due the 12 States named in the resolution	25.8−

The order governing appointments and promotions in the consular service has proved so satisfactory that President Taft issued a similar but somewhat more comprehensive order on November 26, 1909, regulating the examination, appointment, and promotion of secretaries of embassies and legations in the diplomatic service, and expressly requiring, notwithstanding that the principle had already been applied in practice, that as between candidates of equal merit appointments should be so made as to tend to secure proportional representation of all the States and Territories in the diplomatic service.

But the department has not been successful in obtaining many suitable candidates from the Southern States for the diplomatic service. So far only nine candidates have been designated for examination, and of these only six appeared for examination. Four passed the examination and have been appointed secretaries of legation. The following is a full statement of the results of the examinations for the diplomatic service:

	Total number.	Total number and percentage from the 12 States named in the resolution.
Designations	50	8, or 16 per cent.
Examined	45	6, or 13⅓ per cent.
Passed	32	4, or 12½ per cent.
Failed	13	2, or 15 per cent.
Appointed	29	5, or 14− per cent.
On eligible list	3	0.

Total number of places apportioned	108
Total number of places due the 12 States named in the resolution	27.86
Percentage of places due the 12 States named in the resolution	25.8−

As shown by the foregoing statements, the South has to-day a total of 49 men in responsible posts in the foreign service as compared with only 29 in 1901. Eight of these men are in the diplomatic and 41 in the consular branch of the service. Moreover, 18 candidates for the consular service from the Southern States have already been designated for examination in June of this year. It would thus appear that the South is obtaining its proportional representation in the foreign service as rapidly as is consistent with the qualifications of the candidates and the proper administration of the service.

With reference to your inquiry in regard to the assignment of diplomatic and consular officers from the Southern or cotton-producing States to posts in cotton-purchasing countries, it is proper to point out, first of all, that the foreign service deals with American interests in foreign countries of every character and affecting every section of the United States. The efficient discharge of all the work devolving upon officers of the foreign service in the proper promotion and protection of the interests and trade of their countrymen in the North as well as in the South demands that their assignments to particular posts should be based primarily upon their ability to discharge efficiently all the duties of those posts rather than upon geographical considerations. The special knowledge which officers may possess of the products of the States from which they are appointed is not overlooked, however, in assigning them to duty, and is given such weight as may be consistent with the best interests of the whole country. That the interests of the cotton-producing States in respect to manufactured as well as unmanufactured cotton have been borne in mind in the assignment of the members of the foreign service will, I think, be shown by the following table:

Principal exports of American cotton for twelve months ended December, 1909.

Countries to which exported.	Amounts.		Diplomatic and consular officers from Southern States.
	Unmanufactured.	Manufactured.	
United Kingdom	$179,548,271	$400,604	
Belgium	8,604,372		
France	73,215,186		3
Germany	128,434,902	9,670	2
Italy	27,360,613	23,965	2
Netherlands	884,407		1
Russia	4,123,[illegible]		
Spain	11,105,843		1
Other Europe	8,513,214	212,704	2
Canada	8,255,442	859,357	5
Mexico	3,407,035	164,418	6
South America	44,239	2,658,936	4
Japan	8,207,707	23,965	1
Aden		877,331	1
Turkey		151,310	1
British East Indies		705,192	2
Central America		1,610,176	1
China		9,071,601	1
Africa		611,990	6

It is true that at present the only consular officer from the Southern States stationed in the United Kingdom, which purchases so much of our raw cotton, is the vice-consul at Glasgow; but it may confidently be expected that with the increase of the number and the advancement to higher posts of consuls from the South this condition will gradually change. The interest of the cotton growers in the English markets was recognized two years ago, when the consul at Manchester was specially detailed to attend the cotton convention at Atlanta for the purpose of acquainting himself with the needs of American cotton producers, and thus be able more efficiently to promote their interests in Manchester. It may also be remarked here that within the past few months another consular officer from another cotton-purchasing country has been in the South for a similar purpose.

In view of all the foregoing, I think you will agree that in the earnest effort to develop the efficiency of the foreign service to the fullest extent in the promotion and protection of the interests of the whole country, and to bring about proportional representation of all the States and Territories in that service, the just claims of the cotton-producing States have not only not been overlooked, but are being met as rapidly as the best interests of the service and the qualifications of the candidates for appointment permit. For your information, in the event that you desire to examine some of the results of the work of the foreign service, as well as the cost of it, I inclose a memorandum on these subjects.

Yours, very sincerely, P. C. KNOX.

The Hon. CORDELL HULL,
House of Representatives.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE BANQUET GIVEN IN HIS HONOR BY THE AMERICUS CLUB, PITTSBURG, PA., MAY 2, 1910.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Americus Club:

It is now a number of years since I had the pleasure of participating in the Grant day banquet of this club. But I remember with distinctness the hospitality and enthusiasm of your members, which do not seem to have lost anything in the lapse of years. The toast to General Grant has been assigned to an orator who has shown himself by his magnificent oration how well chosen he was; and I shall not take your time in referring to the great qualities of that silent soldier, which seemed framed by Providence to meet the great exigencies of the civil war, when our country was apparently in the throes of dissolution—qualities which restored victory to the armies of the Union and brought about the peace which Grant proclaimed and loved so well.

I am greatly indebted to the State of Pennsylvania, to the city of Pittsburg, and to the Americus Club for giving me that gentleman who sits at the head of my Cabinet table, and who, in the exercise of the ability and learning which brought him to the head of your bar and which distinguished his service as Attorney-General of the United States and as a Senator in the Congress from Pennsylvania, has given wise counsel of the utmost value in guiding the course of the administration, beset with many difficulties. As the law officer of the Government who conducted to a successful issue the greatest of the cases in which the meaning and limitations of the antitrust act were considered, and who by his successful advocacy called a halt upon the movement which threatened a merger of all railroads in the hands of one syndicate, he took his place among the statesmen of the country, and, while respecting the rights of capital and the great advantage of its efficient organization, was alive to the danger to the public weal which lies in the suppression of healthful competition and in the abuse of the privilege of organization to secure private monopoly and excessive profit.

As the head of the great State Department, having in its charge our foreign relations, Mr. Knox has shown the same capacity for guarding the interests of his clients—the United States and her people—in dealing with foreign nations as he did in protecting their rights against the unlawful encroachments of domestic combinations of capital.

The department of foreign affairs in a government, if it is useful and successful, is not generally very spectacular, and it requires a recital of its work. Its triumphs are peaceful negotiations leading to agreements recorded ofen, not in the ratification of treaties, but in the acquiescence of correspondence and not heralded to the world as what they often really are—important steps toward the universal peace of nations.

In the first place, I ought to mention that the State Department until this last year has never been properly organized. This was not due to the lack of desire on the part of former Secretaries of State, but it seemed as if Congress had not understood the importance of increasing the instrumentalities of the department, so that the growing interests of the Government in all parts of the world might be cared for by different divisions, with competent experts in each, entirely familiar with the parts of the globe respectively assigned to them for consideration and action.

Under the appropriations of last year, secured from Congress by Mr. Knox, the department has now a Division of Latin America, a Division of Far Eastern Affairs, a Division of Western European Affairs, of Near Eastern Affairs, and a greatly expanded Bureau of Trade Relations. In this way it has specialists who have served in each part of the world and know it directly, and who give their whole attention and their specialized knowledge and experience to our interests in that part of the world. They are at the disposition of American business men and business firms desiring to enter new fields of trade, and are prepared to give unlimited time to the instruction of American representatives, whether new appointees or transferred to new posts.

Under the law of 1906, and with the assistance of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. ROOT, a merit system of selection and promotion was introduced into the consular service of the United States; and in the spirit in which that reform was projected it has been carried forward in this administration, so that I do not think that there can be any doubt that the consular system of the United States is now on a better basis and more effective for the purposes for which it was organized than ever in the history of the country. In addition to this, under an executive order suggested by Mr. Knox, a similar system of examination and promotion by merit has been adopted in the diplomatic service, reaching up to the grade of ministers, and including all the secretaries and other subordinates of our embassies and legations. This has tended directly to stimulate the ambition of those who are now in the service and worthy to stay there, and to eliminate therefrom the drones and idlers that sought this branch of the service as a sinecure.

For the first time in the history of our country Congress adopted the plan of a maximum and minimum tariff, the maximum being 25 per cent greater than the minimum. Heretofore we had but a single rigid tariff, and in dealing with countries that had two tariffs or three we had no advantage to offer them in securing from them the benefit of the lower rates. The tariff bill was signed the 5th of August, 1909, and, according to its terms, it was required of the executive—and that means the State Department, with assistance from tariff experts whom the President might directly appoint—to investigate the tariffs and trade regulations of every nation in the world with whom the United States had any commerce whatever, to determine whether in any of these respects there was undue discrimination against the trade of the United States in favor of the trade of some other nation and by negotiation to seek to end it; and if unsuccessful to allow the maximum tariff to go into operation. All this had to be done, and the negotiations to secure the removal of such discriminations as were found had to be completed and proclamations issued announcing the result before the 31st of the following March. The work has been done by Mr. Knox and the State Department, and has been well done. We have succeeded in securing from all countries substantially their minimum tariff, or, if not their minimum tariff in terms, such concessions as to be equivalent to the benefits under the minimum tariff denied to us.

One hundred and thirty-four proclamations have been issued, attesting the fact that under the present conditions there is no undue discrimination against the trade of the United States by any country with which the United States has commercial relations. Germany has granted to all American products her complete and unqualified conventional or minimum tariff rates, and has abolished her former restrictive regulation which required imports of American pork meats to be accompanied by certificates showing their microscopical inspection in the United States, thereby removing the obstacle which had effectually prevented their entry into the German Empire.

France granted to American products her minimum tariff rates on about 97 per cent of her total importations from the United States, thereby giving equality of tariff treatment, for the first time, to numerous classes of important American commodities, such as agricultural implements and machinery and machine tools; and, in addition, made certain concessions in regard to inspection which were deemed to be equivalent to the small percentage withheld from us of her minimum tariff.

The Government of Austria-Hungary abolished its restrictive regulation affecting the importation of American pork meats, so that these products henceforth will be admitted when accompanied by the ordinary federal certificates of inspection.

Greece reduced by one-half her former high duties on lubricating oil and cotton-seed oil, both largely imported from the United States, while Brazil added several commodities to the list of American products entitled to the preferential reduction of 20 per cent. Other countries have made specific improvement in their laws and practices affecting the American export trade as the direct result of these negotiations.

With Canada there was a grave question as to whether the extension to many other countries of the benefit of the rates of the reciprocity treaty between Canada and France, which are from 2½ to 5 per cent less than the so-called normal rates charged against imports from this country, was not an undue discrimination against the United States. To avoid this result, Canada reduced the tariff on some 13 numbers, embracing substantially all those articles in respect to which there was any competition between the United States and the favored nations in the Canadian market. The Canadian settlement was accompanied by an exchange of notes indicating the willingness on the part of each government to enter into future negotiations looking to closer commercial relations between the United States and Canada. It is the view of the administration that a peculiar relation existing between Canada and the United States, with a boundary line of 3,000 miles in extent between them, justifies a different policy as to imports and exports between the two countries from that which obtains in regard to European and Oriental countries, and that if, by reciprocal arrangements, we can make the commercial bond closer it will be for the benefit of both nations.

Several treaties negotiated by Mr. Root in the previous administration for the settlement of long-standing controversies with Canada have now been ratified, and the peaceful adjustment of our commercial relations was a fitting climax. They all constitute the establishment of greater friendliness between the United States and her rapidly growing and very prosperous neighbor to the north than ever before in the history of the two countries.

The example set by the last administration, with Mr. Root at the head of the State Department, in cultivating good relations with all the South American and Central American Republics has been followed closely by Mr. Knox and the department under him. I say this deliberately for the purpose of meeting suggestions and criticisms that there has been a departure from such policy, and I venture to affirm that never before in the history of the country have our relations with South American and Central American Republics been more friendly than they are to-day.

We have just appointed a commission of men of the highest character and ability to represent us at the Fourth Pan-American Conference, to be held at Buenos Aires on this the one hundredth year of the independence of most of the South American republics. We have signified our sense of the importance of the celebrations of their one hundredth anniversaries which are to take place in the various South American countries by delegating some of our most prominent citizens to attend as special representatives of the United States. We have just celebrated with proper form, suited to the importance of the occasion, the dedication of the beautiful building in which is housed the Bureau of American Republics, to act as a clearing house and to facilitate exchanges of opinion and trade and good will between all the republics of this hemisphere.

By tact and diplomatic guidance a war between Peru and Bolivia was avoided, and not a little of the credit for reaching an honorable and pacific settlement was due to the sensible and straightforward suggestion of our Secretary of State. Again, through the same assistance, an obstacle to the taking part by Bolivia in the Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires has been removed.

The boundary dispute between Costa Rica and Panama was lately settled by the friendly offices of Secretary Knox, and a convention signed providing for arbitration by the Chief Justice of the United States.

Relations between Peru and Ecuador are at present strained, due also to a boundary dispute, in which acrimonious feeling has been developed on both sides, and in regard to which our peacemaking Secretary of State is bending his energies to bring about a solution honorable to both parties.

The fact that in respect to the claim pending against one of the South American republics our State Department took a firm stand and insisted on a settlement is not to be regarded in the slightest degree as an evidence of our lack of friendship for that Government or our earnest desire to maintain the friendliest relations with all South America. But a Secretary of State of the United States would be recreant to all the proper rules governing his duty if he neglected the just rights of American citizens in dealing with any country, however important her friendship.

The course of our State Department with respect to certain small Central American States has been subjected to criticism which to me seems wholly unwarranted. Turbulence and unstable conditions in Central America have been a perennial occupation to the Department of State. By the Washington conventions, to which the United States morally has the relation of a party, it was sought to guarantee the neutrality of Honduras, because it has always been felt that a strong and stable Honduras stretching across the center of Central America would contribute more than anything else to the progress and prosperity of the five Republics, the peaceful welfare of which the

United States has always promoted. Honduras has a heavy foreign debt and its finances are disorganized. American citizens have now an actual interest in the railways and wharves of the country. An American banking house has finally undertaken to refund the debt, rehabilitate the finances, and advance funds for railway and other improvements contributing directly to the country's prosperity and commerce. Such an arrangement has long been desired, and our State Department is cordially supporting the project.

The great disturber of Central America in recent years has been Zelaya, the tyrannical and unprincipled President of the Republic of Nicaragua. With respect to every plan for the promotion of pacification and friendly relations between the five Republics he played the part of marplot. When his brutal and cruel exactions drove a part of the people of Nicaragua into rebellion and an extended civil war, he violated the laws of war and the rights of American citizens who had regularly enlisted in the ranks of the revolutionists by taking their lives. He thus gave a right to the Government of the United States to demand reparation, and, by reason of the character of his Government—exemplified by this cruelty toward American citizens—to withdraw all diplomatic relations by a letter of Secretary Knox which gave full reasons therefor, and which notified the contending forces in Nicaragua that the United States would hold each one to strict accountability were the rights of American citizens further outraged. American forces were sent to both coasts of Nicaragua to be in readiness if occasion should arise to protect Americans and their interests. It is undoubtedly true that the attitude of the United States toward Zelaya so injured his prestige and brought him so clearly to the bar of the public opinion of the world as an international criminal that he was obliged to abdicate and leave his Government to a better man.

It is hoped that the war between the factions is now drawing to a close and that a far better government may be established, which shall have regard to the interests of its own citizens as well as of those of friendly nations. The leaders of both factions, Madriz and Estrada, have admitted the unjust character of the killing of Groce and Cannon. This Government must consider at the proper time calling upon the Government of Nicaragua, when one can be recognized, to make such reparation as shall seem to be just for this violation of American rights and to give adequate guaranties for the future observance and strengthening on the part of Nicaragua of the Washington conventions. Meanwhile, pending the working out of the Nicaraguan situation, we have saved further invasion of American rights and have indirectly accomplished the elimination of Zelaya and of Zelayism. I think anyone who will analyze the Nicaraguan policy will see that it has brought about its exact and just and beneficent objects.

The elimination of Castro, who was of the class of Zelaya, from the control of Venezuela has enabled us to settle peacefully the claims of our fellow-citizens in that important South American State.

As a confirmation of the friendly relations which now exist between this country and all of South America, Argentina has placed the contract for two battle ships and certain additional naval armament, amounting in money value in all to about $23,000,000, and there is reason to believe that we shall have further contracts of a similar sort placed in the United States by other South American governments. The opportunity to get this business was brought about directly by the untiring efforts of the Department of State, and this could not have been achieved but for the reorganization of the State Department and by means of a liberal appropriation of Congress, and the consequent energetic direction of the reformed consular service and the diplomatic service, reorganized last year.

The theory that the field of diplomacy does not include in any degree commerce and the increase of trade relations is one to which Mr. Knox and this administration do not subscribe. We believe it to be of the utmost importance that while our foreign policy should not be turned a hair's breadth from the straight path of justice, it may be well made to include active intervention to secure for our merchandise and our capitalists opportunity for profitable investment which shall inure to the benefit of both countries concerned.

There is nothing inconsistent in the promotion of peaceful relations and the promotion of trade relations, and if the protection which the United States shall assure to her citizens in the assertion of just rights under investment made in foreign countries shall promote the amount of such investments and stimulate and enlarge the business relations it is a result to be commended. To call such diplomacy "dollar diplomacy," and thus apply to it what is deemed by the authors of the phrase an expression of contempt, is to ignore entirely a most useful office to be performed by a government in its dealings with foreign governments. Such diplomacy gives to the merchants of other countries in the competition for the trade of the world an advantage which their own governments are only too glad to offer to them, and which our Government ought not to deny to her own merchants, manufacturers, and capitalists.

Our trade has grown quite beyond the limits of this country. With an annual foreign trade exceeding $2,000,000,000, our State Department could not vindicate its existence or justify a policy which in any way withheld a fostering, protecting, and stimulating hand in the development and extension of that trade.

In pursuit of such policy it is often desirable that the loan of American capital to a foreign government be made. The Government measures its support of the enterprise for which the loan is made not by the profits of our capitalists, but by the broad national advantages to be expected. It is easy in such cases for the Department of State to secure conditions which will insure the benefit to this country, as, for example, if the loan be for public works, in stipulations for the purchase of materials in the United States.

There is promised great railway development in the Empire of Turkey, and our State Department is using such proper efforts as it may to assist American contractors and constructors in securing the contracts for the making of these railroads. I need hardly say what a benefit that would confer in the inevitable purchase of materials for the work of construction in the performance of such contracts.

In our agreements with China we have provisions whereby the Chinese Government promises to reform its currency and to abolish likin, a mode of internal taxation which weighs against our trade, and to give a share of railway loans to American capital. Early last year it developed that three foreign governments were about to conclude a loan to China for the construction of a great railway system in the heart of the Yangtze Valley, and that the likin revenues were to be hypothecated to the foreign lenders, and that railway materials purchased abroad were to come from the lending countries.

It was seen that our direct treaty interests in the likin question would be jeopardized unless American citizens also had a direct interest in these revenues as security for the loan. It was further plain that American manufacturers and merchants would lose an important opportunity and market. As a result of nearly a year's negotiation, American participation in the loan and in the sale of materials for the railroad has been assured.

Again, the representative of a group of American bankers, acting also for an English construction company, secured a contract for the financing and building of a railway from Chinchou north to Tsitsishar and to Aigun, on the Amur River, passing from Manchuria through Mongolia and meeting the Russian Trans-Siberian Railway. As this enterprise would open up a large new field in the Chinese Empire and would directly and indirectly benefit both Chinese and American commerce, this Government agreed cordially to give the enterprise the support which it might legitimately furnish to beneficial American enterprises in foreign countries.

In the course of this negotiation Secretary Knox advanced a proposal by which capitalists of Russia, Japan, and other nations, including the United States, should join in advancing to China the sum necessary to enable that Government to take over the railroads of Manchuria and to manage them upon a business basis free from all suspicion of ulterior political motives or of discriminations. This proposal has not met with the approval of all the nations to whom it was made, but that it may ultimately be the basis for assuring the peace of the Orient we have not lost hope. The conception of Manchuria as a buffer state, in which the railways should be under the control of representatives of all the nations and not policed by the armies of any, is certainly most useful, and one which if it could be realized would be fruitful of permanent peace. As for the Chinchou-Aigun Railway, the Japanese Government is now prepared to cooperate in its construction, and the enterprise is in a stage of satisfactory negotiation.

The policy of the "open door" was inaugurated by this Government while John Hay was Secretary of State, and had its inception in a note circulated among the powers by him. It has been the intention and purpose of this administration to conserve and maintain that policy as far as possible, and we can not look with satisfaction or quietly acquiesce in a silent defeat of that policy in the actual measures adopted by any of the governments interested in the Orient.

The Chinese Government and people are passing through a marvelous stage of transition from ancient to modern methods, and in this progressive work of development there is no country to which China looks with more friendly reliance than to the United States. The State Department may, therefore, well foster the use and investment of American capital which operates for the establishment of legitimate American business interests in China and for the welfare of that great Empire and which gives us a legitimate standing in maintaining the integrity of China and conserving her just rights.

It is the purpose of our State Department to insist upon a respect for the just claims of American citizens, wherever they may be. These can not be sacrificed to any policy. We must use every effort to give a full measure of protection in our own country to the rights of foreigners of whatever nationality or race, and in our dealings with other governments to combine a patient insistence upon our rights with a scrupulous respect for theirs. In this way the great work of making world peace is carried on, and such a course contributes quite as much to this end as arbitration treaties and other instrumentalities by which in more conspicuous ways war is rendered less and less possible.

Among the direct contributions to the cause of peace I am glad to call your attention to the fact that Secretary Knox has broached to the powers a project for evolving a general court of arbitral justice out of the theory of the prize court convention drawn up at the last Hague conference. The proposal has had a most sympathetic reception from many of the powers, sufficient, we hope, to secure its success, and we feel assured that in the not distant future it will take tangible form and result in a forum always open to all nations, having a confidence in the justice of their respective causes, which will make them willing to substitute, in the settlement of controversies the deliberate and righteous judgment of an impartial tribunal for the antiquated method of force.

To the record of a year's accomplishments under Secretary Knox in our foreign affairs I think I may properly point with pride, and yet with becoming modesty, for it is his work and not mine. All I can claim is the merit of selecting him for the task.

THE SPIRIT AND PURPOSE OF AMERICAN DIPLOMACY.

ADDRESS BY HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX AT THE COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA AT PHILADELPHIA, PA., JUNE 15, 1910.

Mr. Provost and ladies and gentlemen:

The cosmopolitan character of this university, the increasing influence of the individual citizen upon the nature of international relations, owing to the more intimate and frequent personal intercourse between citizens of different countries, and the expanding sentimental and material interest in the subject are considerations which have persuaded me that some observations upon the spirit which has animated American diplomacy and the purposes toward which our foreign policies have been directed may prove of interest on this occasion.

It is gratifying to believe that examination will disclose that our diplomacy has had a real and definite spirit and direction; that it has not been based on expediency nor been driven hither and thither by the variable winds of opportunism, and that it has, in its justice, generosity, moderation, and candor, reflected the becoming attributes of a great people. That this is true will appear when we, though briefly, consider the spirit with which the United States has approached the adjustment of questions in which it has been directly interested and the purpose with which this Government has been inspired in its efforts to further the good of particular nations and to advance the general welfare of the world.

The willingness of the United States amicably to compose its own differences with other government and its efforts to secure the general acceptance of the principle of international arbitration make a fine and consistent chapter in our diplomatic history.

Since American statecraft had its beginning in an effort to secure recognition for a young nation struggling to relieve itself from what it considered to be intolerable oppression, it is but natural that its earliest diplomatists should have been actuated and guided by broad principles of international right, justice, and equality as well as by large and fundamental considerations of humanity.

Representing a small and weak belligerent nation, beset with difficulties of discipline, organization, equipment, men, and finance, and realizing in the fullest measure, as they did, how near they were to losing, because of these deficiencies, their own struggle for what, in their opinion, was a just and righteous cause, it is not strange that these men should have later sought for some method of adjusting their international difficulties other than by the lawless uncertainties of war. Therefore, in negotiating the treaty of 1794 John Jay, finding it impossible at the moment definitely to adjust with Great Britain certain boundary disputes along our frontier, as well as other differences affecting the citizens of the two countries, preferred to provide that such disputes should be settled by arbitration rather than to leave them as open questions capable, at any time, of irritating the two governments into renewed conflict; and it must ever be said to the credit of the Government and the negotiators of the mother country that realizing as they must have realized, the great advantage which they might with reason hope to obtain through an armed settlement of these questions, they still were not unwilling to join with the United States in negotiating a treaty which provided for the settlement of these disputes by peaceful means. By this treaty the two governments ushered in "the modern era of arbitration." Well might Mr. Hamilton say to those who sought to discredit Jay and his work because of these provisions that "It would be a horrid and destructive principle if nations could not determine a dispute about the title to a particular parcel of territory by amicable agreement, or by submission to arbitration as its substitute, but would be under an indispensable obligation to prosecute the dispute by arms, till real danger to the existence of one of the parties should justify, by the plea of extreme necessity, a surrender of its pretensions."

From this date, 1794, until the present time, the Government of the United States has uniformly and constantly exhausted every resource in order amicably and peaceably to adjust its international difficulties, and during this time it has, including those now pending, taken part in some seventy arbitrations, excluding various agreements to arbitrate not carried out because of settlement otherwise, as well as all conventional or diplomatic arrangements, delimitation commissions, and domestic commissions for the settlement of international claims. The subjects submitted by this Government to the various arbitral tribunals have involved some of the most important and difficult questions which give rise to differences between States. They include boundary disputes, rights of fishing, the rights and duties of neutrals, interpretation of treaties, and the personal and property rights of American citizens resident in foreign countries.

It should, moreover, in connection with this matter, be observed that convinced as it has been that arbitration should be essentially a judicial rather than a diplomatic matter and that the award of an arbitral court should be not a compromise but a judgment founded upon principles of law and equity, this Government has time and again upon due and appropriate occasion submitted to international tribunals questions of international law which had been already passed upon and determined by the Supreme Court of the United States, this Government having, of course, always accepted the awards of these tribunals even where, as in some cases, their decisions have not been in accord with those which had been previously pronounced by its own highest court.

Indeed, the United States has taken even more advanced ground and has said that, inasmuch as arbitration is thus, as stated, a judicial rather than a diplomatic procedure, the judgment of an arbitration court must conform to the principles of law and equity involved and controlling, and that where, in its opinion, it is wholly clear and evident that a decision essentially fails so to conform, such decision should be open to an international judicial revision. It is in accordance with this principle that the United States and Venezuela have recently negotiated a protocol of arbitration providing for the submission to The Hague of the question of the revision of an international award.

It was pursuant to this same principle that, in the case of Pelletier against Haiti, the Government of the United States, upon the protest of the Government of Haiti, and as the result of an investigation of the facts and circumstances surrounding the case, itself declined to enforce and set aside the award made by the arbitrator, in favor of the American claimant, on the ground that the arbitrator had misconceived and therefore disregarded the scope of the terms of submission.

It was this same spirit and understanding of international arbitration that led the Government of the United States, upon charges of grave irregularity, to join with Venezuela in a revision of the awards made by the United States and Venezuela Commission of 1866, and which also prompted the action of the United States in the La Abra and Weil cases, in which this Government, having become convinced that fraud had been practiced by the American claimants in an arbitration with the Government of Mexico, relieved Mexico from paying such part of the award as it had not already paid, returned to Mexico the sums paid upon the award and undistributed to the claimants, and in addition, appropriated by congressional act a sum to repay Mexico the amount which had been paid and distributed to the claimants and which was therefore beyond the reach of the United States.

Not only did American and British diplomacy, by the treaty of 1794, usher in the modern era of arbitration as to specific subjects covered by special arbitration agreements, but in 1897 the foreign offices of the two governments having reached the conclusion that certainly, as between England and the United States, there were no questions of any kind whatsoever which might not be and which ought not to be settled by international arbitration, there was signed at Washington a convention which provided:

"The high contracting parties agree to submit to arbitration in accordance with the provisions and subject to the limitations of this treaty all questions in difference between them which they may fail to adjust by diplomatic negotiation."

While this convention failed of ratification in the Senate for reasons which need not be discussed, it clearly pointed the way in which the diplomacy of the two governments was moving, and, indeed, marked the point to which the two foreign offices had advanced. As a partial fruition of the diplomatic hope thus expressed in this unratified treaty, there has very recently—May 13, 1910—been signed, ratified, and proclaimed a convention between the United States and Great Britain which provides for the organization of an international joint commission for primary jurisdiction over questions relating to boundary waters, and also stipulates that:

"Any questions or matters of difference arising between the high contracting parties involving the rights, obligations, or interests of the United States or of the Dominion of Canada, either in relation to each other or to their respective inhabitants, may be referred for decision to the International Joint Commission."

Although the findings of this commission as to matters thus referred to it are not, under the terms of the convention, to be absolutely binding and conclusive upon the two governments, yet such findings, particularly if fortified by the opinion of the umpire, for the appointment of whom a subsequent section of the article provides, will be most persuasive upon the respective parties to the treaty, and it is confidently predicted that rarely or never will it happen that the decisions of this commission will not be regarded as a final disposition of the matters involved. It is indeed a hopeful augury for universal peace that the conscience of two such powerful nations as the United States and Great Britain, whose great general interests are in so many cases keenly competitive and whose territories are for great distances contiguous and separated merely by an imaginary line, has been so quickened for justice and righteousness as to provide that only right, law, and equity shall determine all matters which, as to the territories concerned, may hereafter be the subject of dispute between them.

Not only has the United States sought thus to settle its own difficulties by the implements of peace rather than by those of war, but it has assiduously exerted all proper pressure to induce the world to adopt the principle of arbitration as a means of settlement of international disputes.

Passing with a mere allusion the various American peace societies and able and distinguished American scholars, philanthropists, and statesmen who have worked with ardor, ability, and success, not only in the United States, but in all parts of the civilized world, for the establishment of peace and the pacific settlement of international disputes, I beg to direct your attention to the fact that in his instructions to the American representatives of the first official world's peace conference of 1899, Secretary Hay, after commenting upon the various features of the suggested programme, declared:

"The eighth article, which proposes the wider extension of good offices, mediation, and arbitration, seems likely to open the most fruitful field for discussion and future action * * *. The duty of sovereign states to promote international justice by all wise and effective means is only secondary to the fundamental necessity of preserving their own existence. Next in importance to their independence is the great fact of their interdependence.

"Nothing can secure for human government and for the authority of law which it represents so deep a respect and so firm a loyalty as the spectacle of sovereign and independent states, whose duty it is to prescribe the rules of justice and impose penalties upon the lawless.

bowing with reverence before the august supremacy of those principles of right which give to law its eternal foundation."

The Secretary accompanied his instructions by a short but broad and comprehensive plan for an international court of arbitration which should "be of a permanent character and shall be always open" for the consideration of cases which might be reported to it. The conference was not, however, at the time, of a temper to recommend so complete a judicial plan as that proposed by Mr. Hay and presented by the American delegation, and there was accordingly (largely as the result of the indefatigable labors of the delegation of this Government) drawn up and approved by the conference, and later ratified by various powers, a convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, which, however, lacked "the fundamental idea of the American plan [which] was a court which should not only be permanent, but continuous, in its functions."

The convention adopted was, however, a long stride in the direction of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and not a few of its provisions, particularly regarding mediation between powers about to engage or already engaged in war, were textually proposed by members of the American delegation.

Under and pursuant to the provisions of this convention this Government has already negotiated and concluded some 19 general treaties, which, with several others in process of negotiation, provide that national differences which may arise of a legal nature or relating to the interpretation of treaties existing between the two contracting parties, and which it may not have been possible to settle by diplomacy, shall be submitted to arbitration for determination and settlement, provided such questions do not affect the vital interests, the independence, or the honor of the two contracting states, and do not concern the interests of third parties. It is firmly believed that these conventions postpone to the remotest possibility the likelihood of failure amicably to adjust with the other contracting parties all questions national in their character which affect the international relations and intercourse of the contracting states as such.

It is of more than passing interest to note that in referring the Pious Fund case to this international tribunal for determination the United States and Mexico were the first of the signatory powers to invoke the jurisdiction of this newly constituted tribunal; and it is unnecessary to add that the award in this case has been scrupulously observed by Mexico, against whom it was made.

The efforts of the American delegation at the second Hague conference resulted in the readoption in an extended and amended form of the convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes, as well as the framing and adoption of a convention for an international court of prize. But the conference also went considerably further and recommended to the nations of the world the establishment of a court of arbitration in accordance with the fundamental idea of the plan submitted to the first conference at the instance of Secretary Hay—that the court should be "always open"—"a court which should not only be permanent but continuous in its functions."

The general plan of this tribunal, which was elaborated by the American, British, and German delegates, with the hearty cooperation and support of the French, incorporated, in addition to the fundamental idea of permanence adopted from the Hay plan, the fundamental principles and procedure embodied in the conventions for the pacific settlement of international disputes and for the establishment of the international court of prize. Inasmuch as it thus contained only such provisions as had in essence already been adopted by the powers in the two conventions above named, the Government of the United States, conceiving that there could be no objection to adopting the machinery of the international prize court for the permanent court of arbitration, issued on October 18, 1909, an identic circular note proposing to the powers alternative procedure for the international prize court and the investment of the international prize court with the functions of a court of arbitral justice.

This proposition has been most favorably received by the powers, and it is confidently expected that the initiative of the United States will lead to the early establishment at The Hague of a permanent court of arbitration. Such an eventuality will be the realization of one of the aspirations of all the centuries. The ideal is as old as the Roman altar of peace or the temple of Claudius and Vespasian. Its realization can not, however, be regarded as the conception or the work of any one man or nation, but the fruition and crystallization of the thought and ideals of the governments and statesmen who for ages have worked for peace, and a monument of an advanced Christian civilization, in the rearing of which the United States will have been happy indeed to have a part.

The glory of such an achievement, like a mantle descending from on high, will be ample enough to enfold all who have contributed to its accomplishment.

The same just, friendly, and generous American spirit is conspicuously shown in our diplomatic and other efforts in the interest of particular nations at critical times or in respect to matters of great consequence affecting the welfare of other nations.

For example, from the very commencement of our intercourse with China American diplomacy in that Empire has been marked by a just regard for the rights of China as a sovereign power and has consistently aimed to promote the interests of the Chinese people no less than those of our own. Not infrequently, indeed, it has been occupied in disinterested mediation in behalf of China, and has given its assistance to the programme of reform by which the Peking Government is seeking to improve political and social conditions in the Empire.

In spite of many mutual misunderstandings and the insistent desire of Americans in China that their Government should cooperate in the warlike measures of other governments, we have adhered steadfastly to the belief that a policy of patience and peace was the only correct one; that the difficulties in the way of cordial intercourse were chiefly due to differences of manners and customs; and that only time was needed to establish mutual confidence.

The first treaty entered into by the United States with China was negotiated by Caleb Cushing, and signed at Wanghia in 1844. In it the spirit and purpose of American diplomacy are admirably illustrated by the article which provides that American citizens who shall trade in opium shall be subject to be dealt with by the Chinese Government without being entitled to any countenance or protection from that of the United States. Thus, the very commencement of our diplomatic intercourse with China was signalized by uncompromising hostility to the opium traffic, to which the Chinese Government has always been steadfastly opposed.

Notwithstanding that China was compelled by treaties with certain powers in 1858 to legalize the traffic, the United States again in 1880 agreed that Americans should not be permitted in any way to engage in this trade, and that they should not be allowed to plead the favored-nation clause of the treaty in their defense.

Still more effective, however, was the action of this Government in 1906, in proposing to the powers having territorial possessions in the Far East the appointment of a commission to study the opium problem and propose measures for its solution. This commission has agreed unanimously upon certain resolutions which, at the further suggestion of our Government, are shortly to be laid before an international conference to be held at The Hague.

The first appointment of diplomatic officers to represent China at the capitals of the world was due to a suggestion made by the American minister at Peking, Anson Burlinghame, who, with the consent of our Government, resigned his post in 1867 that he might accept the invitation of China to head a mission to 11 of the great powers, intended to bring about a better understanding and establish closer relations with them. Mr. Burlingame encountered considerable hostile criticism because he insisted that China should have more freedom to manage her affairs without interference by others. In this, however, he but voiced the sentiments of the American Government, and his mission, though unfortunately interrupted by his death, was undoubtedly instrumental in securing for China a better position vis-à-vis the western powers.

In one of our treaties with China (1858) we undertake, if any other nation should act unjustly or oppressively toward China, to exert our good offices, on being informed of the case, to bring about an amicable arrangement of the question, thus showing friendly feeling.

Pursuant to this agreement, when the Chinese forces had been defeated by the victorious advance of the Japanese in Manchuria in 1895, the American Government exerted its good offices to bring about a cessation of hostilities and the negotiation of a treaty of peace. A former Secretary of State was adviser to the Chinese Government in concluding this treaty. During this same war, too, the consular and diplomatic authorities of the United States took charge of Chinese subjects and their interests in Japan, and of Japanese subjects and their interests in China.

Similarly, when hostilities broke out between Russia and Japan in the Manchurian provinces of China, the American Government exerted its influence to restrict the military operations to those provinces, encouraged China in the preservation of a strict neutrality, and finally brought about the negotiations at Portsmouth, N. H., which resulted in a treaty of peace, in which the sovereignty of China in the region concerned was unequivocally recognized.

In referring to our diplomatic relations with China, it is impossible to omit mentioning the policy with which the name of the late John Hay will ever be honorably associated, commonly known as the policy of the "open door." Following the lease in 1898 and 1899 of various portions of Chinese territory to Germany, Russia, France, and Great Britain, with exchanges of notes in which these powers, together with Japan, were recognized each as having special interests within certain provinces of the Chinese Empire, the United States secured from each of these powers a declaration giving assurance of equality of treatment within these so-called spheres of interest for nationals of all the powers; and, preliminary to the settlement of the Boxer troubles, the United States again addressed the interested powers, securing their assent to the principle of the preservation of Chinese territorial and administrative entity and equality of commercial opportunity. It was especially to safeguard these principles that the United States Government interested itself so actively in the question of municipal government at Harbin in Manchuria, in that of the working of mines along the Mukden-Antung Railway, in the proposed construction of the Chinchow-Aigun Railway, and made the proposal to neutralize the railways of Manchuria and sought for American capital a participation in the loan for the Hukuang railways.

There are various important provisions in our commercial treaty of 1903 which evidence our interest in the promotion of reforms which must result in benefit to the Chinese people. Among these are the engagements entered into by China to establish a uniform currency, to adopt reasonable mining regulations, to revise the penal code, and to establish a system of modern courts. The United States, on its part, has promised to lend its assistance to these reforms, and has given assurance that when the courts and laws of China warrant it the United States will consent to the abolition of extraterritoriality.

The provision respecting a uniform currency has not yet been fulfilled, but immediately after the ratification of the treaty the American Government sent a special commissioner to China to give expert assistance in devising a practicable scheme for the establishment of such a currency.

Many other instances might be given in illustration of the altruistic spirit in American diplomatic relations with China, none of which, however, has excited more favorable comment than the return in 1885 of a balance of $453,400 left in the Treasury of the United States after payment of claims growing out of the Chinese resistance to British military operations around Canton in the fifties, and more recently the act of Congress authorizing the return to China of the balance of the Boxer indemnity, which will amount to some $11,000,000.

As in China, so in Japan, the helpful and friendly spirit of American diplomacy has been constantly manifest.

The history of modern Japan began with the landing of Commodore Perry in 1853, when, overcoming the obstacles that had baffled every previous effort, he succeeded in opening that country to foreign intercourse. His achievement was justly hailed, both in Europe and America, as a great triumph of peaceful diplomacy.

Nowhere is this fact better understood or more readily acknowledged than in Japan itself. Nine years ago a stone tablet was unveiled at Kurihama, Japan, in commemoration of the landing of Perry on that spot forty-eight years before. The tablet was erected by funds subscribed by the Japanese court and people, and the inscription was written by Japan's leading statesman—one of the foremost statesmen of the world—the late Prince Ito. In the course of the ceremony the presiding officer said: "This monument is erected to preserve on stone our determination never to forget the friendship of the United States that sent Commodore Perry to us in a peaceful way to open up intercourse with foreign powers." It has been truly said that "such an occasion and such a tribute are without a parallel in the history of nations."

Commodore Perry was followed by Townsend Harris, whose patient and unselfish efforts in laying the foundations of diplomatic intercourse with Japan are too little appreciated even by his own countrymen, for while "the genius of Perry unbarred the gate of the island empire and left it ajar it was the skill of Harris that threw it open to the commercial enterprise of the world." A man of distinguished ability and striking moral character, he is held in grateful remembrance by the Japanese people of to-day.

The modern progress of Japan, which began with the arrival of Commodore Perry, has been influenced and assisted at every stage by the disinterested friendship of the United States. Japan's earliest attempts at a reorganized government were based upon the American model, and American ideals shaped her educational and financial institutions. American advisers assisted in the development of agriculture, a postal system, and foreign intercourse.

America, alone of the foreign powers, returned the indemnity exacted after the attack upon foreign vessels at Shimonoseki in 1863. It was America that took the lead in recognizing Japan's inherent right to complete autonomy in matters of tariff and jurisdiction, and as early as 1878 advocated a revision of the ancient treaties to accomplish that result. In 1886 an extradition treaty was negotiated between the two countries, on a reciprocal basis, largely, as stated by President Cleveland at the time, "because of the support which its conclusion would give to Japan in her efforts toward judicial autonomy and complete sovereignty." The treaties that are in effect to-day, signed in 1894, were framed on the lines that had for years previously been advocated by the United States.

In a similar manner Korea was opened to the world by the treaty of Commodore Shufeldt in 1882, an act which has always been regarded by the Koreans as a recognition of the disinterested friendship of the United States and by the world at large as another peaceful success of American diplomacy in the Far East. The development of the country has been largely promoted by American physicians, teachers, missionaries, and expert advisers.

Our relations with Siam have been marked by the same spirit of impartial friendliness throughout the whole course of its modern history.

The people of this country may well be proud of the fact that during more than half a century of disturbed conditions in the Orient, the United States made its influence felt and attained conspicuous success in the development of the commerce of the world without the firing of a hostile gun, save in one or two isolated instances where an unprovoked attack had first been made upon the American flag.

Turning to the near East, this Government has viewed with deep sympathy the efforts of the Young Turks to establish and maintain in their country a more liberal government which would insure to the people the enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, equality, and justice; and, true to our own traditions, we have seen with much satisfaction the reestablishment of a constitutional form of government in the Ottoman Empire. The succeeding course of events, the vigorous efforts of this party to rehabilitate their country and gradually to restore it to a high place among the modern nations of the world, are being watched with the keenest interest and most cordial sympathy.

The American policy in the near East has, as elsewhere, been entirely open and free from sinister endeavors. The work of our diplomatic and consular representatives has been devoted to the protection of American citizens and their property and the peaceful extension of American commerce.

The educational and medical institutions in Turkey which have been established by the American missions, and which have been productive of so much good, have received at all times all proper support from this Government.

The world-famed Robert College, at Constantinople, has done much to spread western enlightenment and progress throughout that region. Many statesmen of note have there received the principles of western civilization.

American institutions in Turkey have done a great work—a work which has also favorably affected the peaceful extension of American commerce. There have been no selfish motives behind these endeavors; and it is pleasant to relate, as a mere indication of the popular attitude toward the United States, that when the reestablishment of the constitution was proclaimed the great concourse of people in the streets of Constantinople with one accord enthusiastically cheered the American flag.

For some years past the conditions in the Kongo have engaged the earnest attention of a large class of our philanthropic citizens. As far back as 1906 the President expressed his earnest desire to see the full performance of the treaty obligations which were designed for the uplifting of the natives of the African domain and for the opening of its commerce to the world, and publicly emphasized his purpose to lend the influence of this Government, so far as might be proper, toward a realization of any needed humanitarian reforms. Ways for releasing the natives from the burdensome conditions oppressing them and starting them upon the path of self-support and moral development have been the subject of careful investigation not only by the American and British representatives in the Kongo, but by special Belgian agents, and have been maturely debated by the Belgian legislative body. The announced annexation of the independent State of the Kongo was followed by numerous proposed reform measures. The attitude of the United States has been one of benevolent encouragement, in the hope that the promised reforms would in their actual operation meet the high demands of public sentiment. With the accession of King Albert, who, as well as his minister of the colonies, has recently personally visited the Kongo and studied conditions there, encouragement is felt for an effective policy of practical reform.

I am happy to say that the recent promulgation of decrees to facilitate free trade, revise the rubber tax, and ameliorate other burdensome conditions are a further augury of the accomplishment of an end which we, together with the rest of the civilized world, ardently desire to see attained in that vast region peopled by our less fortunate fellow-men.

An excellent example of the disinterestedness and fairness which characterize American diplomacy is afforded in the traditional attitude which the United States has assumed toward Liberia. This little negro republic on the west coast of equatorial Africa was founded in 1822, under the auspices of the American Colonization Society, with the aid and assistance of the United States Government. The motives underlying the movement which resulted in the founding of Liberia were: The hope of the abolition of slavery and colonization of the free negroes, the providing of a refuge for negroes captured on slave traders, and of a home for American negroes, and the desire to civilize and Christianize Africa through the instrumentality of such colonization.

Beginning with the recognition of Liberian independence by the United States in 1862, the United States has almost uninterruptedly, in one way or another, shown its interest in the maintenance and welfare of the negro republic. The first diplomatic negotiations between this country and Liberia resulted in a formal expression of this Government's interest in the welfare of the former American colonists. In 1866 Congress authorized the transfer of a gunboat to Liberia, and three years later the War Department turned over to that Government at small cost a large quantity of arms and military stores. Since that time hardly a year has passed in which the United States has not used its good offices in behalf of Liberia, principally in boundary disputes with Great Britain and France.

Perhaps the most significant indication of the continued interest of the United States in Liberia was the sending of a commission to that country last year under authority of Congress to inquire into conditions there and report recommendations to the Department of State.

The commission's report and recommendations were submitted to Congress on March 25 last, and the Department of State is now engaged in working out the details of a plan in harmony with the commission's recommendations, which will give Liberia a new start on the path to national stability and individual progress, so that she may be in a position to accomplish the purpose of her original American founders.

I now turn to what is by far the most active sphere of American diplomacy, namely, that of our relations with the 20 other republics of the Western Hemisphere. Most of these republics are passing through an evolution similar to our own—that of the peopling and developing of vast areas and the attempt to perfect republican government under similar institutions. Now that so many of the republics to the south of us have achieved government as stable, as enlightened, and as responsible as our own, it becomes more and more incumbent upon the citizens of this country to know and appreciate our neighbors to the south, and it should, I think, be interesting to trace some of the influences of the diplomacy of the United States in the wonderful development and in the welding of the Pan-American family of nations.

From the time the United States became an independent Nation this Government, while respecting its obligations to European powers, has frankly and consistently wrought for the establishment and maintenance of a popular, free, and independent form of government for the countries which share with us this hemisphere. Just emerged from our own war of independence, the struggle of the southern republics awoke a responsive chord in the heart of the American people, and in 1823 this Government hastened to recognize as sovereign states the republics of Spanish South America, and named ministers to represent it at their capitals. So, in the case of Brazil, the heritage of Portugal's vast domain in America, the United States was first to recognize its independence. A few years before, President Monroe had promulgated the doctrine which bears his name, and the holy alliance had failed in its efforts to restore South America to the crowns of Spain and Portugal. Some years later Europe sought to impose by military power an emperor upon Mexico. During all these difficult early days our Government's intense interest and active support were invariably found on the side of liberty and republicanism for all the free and equal republics of the Americas.

Turning to modern examples, by the Spanish-American treaty signed at Paris in 1898 and its accompanying documents, this Government, to the surprise of the world, spontaneously, and by action for which history scarcely affords a precedent, recognized the independence of Cuba.

The invariable fervid and inherent sentiment for self-government has had a large part in this Government's sympathy with the recent eviction by their own long-suffering fellow-countrymen of such tyrants as Castro, whose régime has given way to better things, and Zelaya, whose cruel misgovernment it is hoped will soon be succeeded by a government really responsible and republican.

By such advances the less fortunate republics tend gradually to a stature of equality as real as the equality of their sovereignty, and to the high level of stability, justice, moderation, and mutual responsibility which characterizes their more fortunate sisters.

One of the aims of the diplomacy of the United States has been to contribute as much as possible in helpfulness to these ends. True stability is best established not by military but by economic and social forces. A certain area of Central America has been notoriously racked by revolution, and by a sad history of turbulence and instability has been robbed of that flourishing prosperity which should be its natural heritage.

While the greater American republics have long since acquired an industrial and governmental credit comparable to that of the oldest nations, the treasuries of some of the most backward republics have at times virtually succumbed under the weight of exorbitant foreign loans, which, with improvident financial administration, have sunk them deep in debt. The problem of good government is inextricably interwoven with that of economic prosperity and sound finance; financial stability contributes perhaps more than any other one factor to political stability.

The Republic of Honduras is typical as a country laboring under the disadvantages referred to. It has a heavy bonded debt, held in Europe, for which it has in its national wealth no proportional return. The interest fell in arrears and it became absolutely necessary that the debt be refunded and the finances placed upon a sound basis.

At this juncture a group of American bankers came forward prepared to offer terms more advantageous to Honduras than those offered on behalf of the actual creditors. Believing that a strong Honduras would tend enormously toward a stable and prosperous Central America, this Government is heartily supporting the plan for its financial rehabilitation. If the arrangement made proves, upon the closest scrutiny, to be just and equitable, then this Government will be prepared, with the consent of the Senate if a treaty is desirable, to give it such sanction as shall afford the bankers legitimate security for their investment by recognition of such relation as the Government of Honduras may create between the payments due the lender and a proper portion of the customs revenues.

As illustrating the manner in which it is hoped that American diplomacy may thus benefit Honduras and Central America, it is a pleasure to refer to the signal success of the Santo Domingo arrangement. The political history of Santo Domingo from the foundation of the Republic in 1844 until 1905, the year of the modus vivendi, which was followed by the convention of February 8, 1907, may be likened to a kaleidoscope of revolution interrupted only by despotism. Through these chaotic years foreign bondholders of three or four different nationalities had by various arrangements mortgages upon the revenues of as many different ports as security for loans, sometimes usurious and always squandered. The situation had become from every point of view impossible, and Santo Domingo turned to the United States for assistance. After the consideration of various plans the beforementioned modus vivendi and convention were hit upon as a satisfactory solution.

As a result of the good offices of this Government, the great majority of the creditors, relying upon the guaranty to be afforded by the financial stability brought about through the convention, accepted a settlement whereby outstanding obligations to the face value of some

$30,000,000 or $40,000,000 were funded for about $17,000,000. Thus the assistance of the United States has enabled the Republic of Santo Domingo to reduce by half the face value of its debt, to furnish unquestioned security, and to have a customs administration so efficient that, after caring for the liquidation of a relatively enormous debt, it has supplied ample funds for all governmental purposes, the surplus for such purposes being actually greater in amount than the total revenues which entered the Dominican treasury prior to the present customs administration. On its political side it has freed Santo Domingo from apprehension of intervention on the part of creditor nations and has contributed immensely to domestic tranquillity and prosperity, unaccompanied by violent repression, to a degree never before known in the Republic.

The Santo Domingo plan was vigorously opposed in and out of Congress by those who regarded it as a deviation from our policy of aloofness from participation in the internal affairs of other countries. I suppose it was a departure, but if this Government can help to upbuild its neighbors and promote the thought that the capital of the more advanced nations of the world would be better employed in assisting the peaceful development of those more backward than in financing wars, it is such a deviation from traditions as the American people will approve.

The spirit of good neighborhood and of mutual helpfulness, consideration, and confidence has always made possible to our diplomacy the settlement with a minimum of friction of the great variety of questions which geographical proximity has from time to time raised between us and our Canadian kinsmen. In the same spirit we are soon to negotiate with them for a tariff arrangement of greater mutuality and more consistent with our common interests of neighborhood. With the republics to the south of us, commerce, which makes so powerfully for friendship, is flourishing under conditions very favorable to their great export products, and which it is hoped may in time be adjusted in some cases upon a more reciprocal basis. The investment of our surplus capital and the exportation of our products not absorbed by the home market, like the foreign enterprises of our citizens, which increase with the slackening of the domestic demand for their activities, should vitalize our commerce with the other American republics.

The completion of the Panama Canal will be seen within a few years as the culmination of four centuries of aspiration. That the Government of the United States, when private enterprise had failed, itself undertook the burden and responsibility of this great work is a good indication of the importance this Government attaches to the advancement of Pan-American relations. The United States has always taken a sympathetic and practical interest in the advancement of the Pan-American Railroad. It would be most desirable to see as much as possible of the great highway, which it is necessary to build to connect the Americas, built by the cooperation of the enterprise of the countries through which it passes and, by convention, dedicated solely to the uses of commerce upon reasonable and equal terms. The cause of American peace would be greatly advanced if its use were forbidden for military purposes in the event of internal war in any country or in the event of war between countries through which it passes.

Through the historic demonstration of the candor and singleness of purpose of this Government's diplomacy, and through its quiet application to the task of doing and of seeking equity and justice, these relations, I believe, stand to-day upon a foundation firmer as they become more intimate; and the fact that the spirit of neighborly helpfulness is common to governments of other American republics and to our own is shown increasingly year by year.

To mention only one or two of many examples to illustrate this fact, one may recall the settlement of the acute boundary trouble between Peru and Bolivia, the reference of the ancient Panama-Costa Rican boundary dispute to arbitration through the good offices of the United States, and quite recently the tripartite offer of mediation by which the Argentine Republic, the United States of Brazil, and the United States of America, acting in the most harmonious accord, cast the influence of three great American republics on the side of peace in an effort to avert pending war between Peru and Ecuador, an action by which the three governments have given to this hemisphere the honor of first invoking the most far-reaching provisions of The Hague Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes.

I have sought to show by this review how uniformly and consistently the motives and results of our international action have tended to advance the brotherhood of nations.

We have indeed, as is right, firmly maintained our national sovereignty and dignity and the rights of our citizens, and we have not avoided war when honor and duty have invoked that stern arbitrament. Nevertheless we have loyally submitted ourselves to the control of the ideals of peace and to the principles of international comity and good will; and we have exerted our influence and good offices to guide and aid others along that path. We have not, indeed, stood alone in this attitude, but have acted in concert with other powers who recognize the same high call and seek the same great ends. From the ages when barbarism and cruelty dominated the world, through the intervening eras when advancing civilization slowly extended to relations between states the forces of enlightened and beneficent private conduct, we have reached a point when it is evident that the future holds in store a time when wars shall cease; when the nations of the world shall realize a federation as real and vital as that now subsisting between the component parts of a single state; when by deliberate international conjunction the strong shall universally help the weak, and when the corporate righteousness of the world shall compel unrighteousness to disappear and shall destroy the habitations of cruelty still lingering in the dark places of the earth. This is "the spirit of the wide world brooding on things to come." That day will be the millenium of course, but in some sense and degree it will surely be realized in this dispensation of mortal time.

It is for this country always to maintain its historic policy and attitude, to be true to this greatest duty of a nation, which is entirely consistent with all its internal duties, to advance that time which the whole course of history and all divine prophecies and revelations alike presage.

"The tumult and the shouting dies, the captains and the kings depart;" let us invoke that solemn prayer of the poet "lest we forget" that the ancient sacrifice still remains—the sacrifice of the submission to the Almighty of the hearts of a people resolute for righteousness. Thus we shall realize in some sort ourselves and shall help the world and the future to realize that "far-off divine event to which the whole creation moves."

[From Harper's Weekly, April 23, 1910.]

OUR "DOLLAR DIPLOMACY" AND SECRETARY KNOX.

(By an American diplomat.)

WASHINGTON, D. C.

The merit claimed for what is set down here is that it accurately reflects what I know to be the motives and purposes governing the State Department in one aspect at least of its foreign policy. An attempt is made, necessarily sketchy, to outline simply and clearly what is meant by the term "dollar diplomacy," as it has come to be commonly applied to certain of the activities of Secretary Knox, as manifested in Honduras, in Liberia, and in negotiations now in progress looking to the participation of American capital in railway construction in the Far East.

Because American capital, under the shadow, under the guidance and control, and, in a rough manner of speaking, under the protection of the State Department, has sought an outlet in various legitimate enterprises in lands beyond the seas, the Secretary of State and his conduct of foreign affairs have been harshly criticised. The alien and foreign criticism is easily enough understood. The domestic criticism, apparently in large part, springs from a lack of understanding of the circumstances and of what is sought to be accomplished.

A little while ago one of our diplomats, who has seen nearly two decades of active service, said to me: "Here is a newspaper clipping" [taking it out of his pocketbook] "which I would like to put in the hands of everybody in the United States who is at all interested in the motives animating our State Department at the present time. Secretary Knox is only seeking to do what every important foreign office in the world is doing and has been long doing for the banking houses and large investors of its own country." Here is the essential part of the clipping he showed me:

"We are a curious people. It sometimes looks as though we take more satisfaction in embarrassing the men who have the capital, brains, and inclination to extend our foreign trade relations and increase our world market than we do in seeing these relations and this market extended. Financiers and railways for Great Britain, Germany, or France in Asia Minor, in China, and elsewhere. Their foreign offices back them up. Their people back them up. But dares a financier to attempt the same thing on behalf of this country, immediately he is placed under suspicion. He is not trying to do us good, but to do us injury. We are certain of that. What of our trade relations? What of our market? Let them take care of themselves—go hang, if they must. It is enough for us that we bag the financier.

"A year ago this spring, when a certain group of European financiers were conducting negotiations with respect to the building of Chinese railways in a way to threaten the success of their own ventures, their foreign office allowed them to understand that they must display more competence in their own behalf, otherwise another group might be allowed to take over the project.

"The people of the nation concerned had little to say about this attitude, but their silence was not evidence of disapproval. Quite the contrary. They were quite familiar with such situations. Long experience had taught them that this was the way—almost the only way—to build up great interests abroad. Think of it—a foreign office not only backing the financiers but cautioning them how to help themselves, while the entire country looked on in confident approval! Think of it, if you would enjoy a study in European and American contrasts."

The sum of much of the recent criticism directed against the Department of State has been that our foreign office had become an annex of Wall street. The facts are just the other way about. Wall street is being used as a tool by the Department of State. I dare make this explicit assertion: There are no relations between the State Department and the financiers of Wall street, except where the financiers can be used as a legitimate means to accomplish a legitimate diplomatic purpose. A hasty outline of plans now afoot will bear out this statement

"Dinna marry for money, but go where money is." This canny Scotch saying should serve to make obvious even to the willfully blind the reason why certain recent political-commercial moves in the world diplomacy of the United States have brought the Department of State at times into contact with some of the great banking houses of New York, instead of informing us of frequent and earnest conferences between officials of the State Department and the overseers of the leading poorhouses of the country.

A far-eastern newspaper recently made the remark, sinister to China, that it was felt by Japan and by Russia in Manchuria that the path of empire lay along the railroad. Americans know this well enough, and they also know, what interests them much more in this case, that commerce goes with railroads.

By our treaty of 1904 with China, China pledged herself to us, as she did also by contemporary treaties with Great Britain and Japan, to abolish likin, making compensatory increase in her customs tariff, and to reform her currency. Likin is a most vexatious form of internal taxation and a great detriment to trade, just as is the present chaotic condition of the Chinese currency. The United States has from the first taken the lead in endeavoring to facilitate China's efforts to carry out these reforms. More than a year ago it transpired that Great Britain, France, and Germany had made with China a preliminary agreement (the Hukuang loan) for the financing and construction of the Hankow-Canton Railway, and a railway west from Hankow toward the Province of Szechuen.

It was at once noticed that this agreement contained two provisions of real interest to America. First, the internal revenue (likin) were to be hypothecated to the lenders: and, second, all railway materials purchased abroad were to be bought in the countries whose nationals supplied the loan. The governments of those nationals to whom the likin was hypothecated would obviously be in position to plead special interests, if the United States, with only its general commercial interests indirectly affected and with no direct interest in the provincial revenues, should raise the question of pressing for these reforms, which all our merchants agree are essential to the development of a flourishing trade with the empire across the Pacific. The failure of Americans to participate in the Hukuang loan would likewise have excluded American manufacturers from opportunity to sell railway materials for this important system and its branches in the heart of China tapping the great Yangtze Valley.

Financial combinations of the first magnitude, energetically supported by their governments, had brought this loan to the brink of final contract. For Germany there was the Deutsche-Asiatiche Bank, for France the Banque de l'Indo-Chine with its ramifications, and for Great Britain the ancient and powerful Hongkong and Shanghai Bank.

It was plain that those responsible for American commercial interests and prestige in China must see that Americans ought to participate in the Hukuang loan on account of the broad national benefits it entailed. Confronted with these powerful groups, even to have the hope of success, there must be found an instrumentality of the greatest strength. At the psychological moment there appeared upon the scene a group composed of J. P. Morgan & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., the National City Bank, and the First National Bank of New York ready to do the bidding of the Department of State.

After nearly a year of diplomatic negotiation and of simultaneous negotiation between the French, German, British, and American groups, American participation has been successfully assured to the satisfaction of all concerned and to the especial gratification of the Chinese Government and of American interests in China.

Last year Mr. Willard Straight, who represents the American group of bankers in China, and who represented for this purpose also the British firm of Paulings, signed with the Manchurian viceroy a preliminary contract for the construction of a railroad from Chinchou north to Tsitsihar to Aigun on the Amur River. The undertaking was to be financed by American capitalists with the inclusion, to a certain extent, of other capital subject to the approval of the Chinese Government, and the construction was to be carried out by the British company. It was thus an Anglo-American railway enterprise in Manchuria, which would open up to trade a large new region. The American Government expressed a disposition to support the project, provided the British Government would do the same. This enterprise, which has received the highest sanction of the Chinese Government by an imperial edict, is still actively under discussion.

It was in the broaching of this project that Secretary Knox laid before the governments of Russia, Japan, Germany, France, and Great Britain the famous "neutralization" plan—so called. This was the simple and great idea of taking the Manchurian railways out of politics, terminating in advance the temporary tenure of Russia and Japan by a loan of China, in which all the interested powers, and especially Russia and Japan, should participate. The rejection of the broader scheme by Russia and Japan was no more mysterious than a man's refusal to sell his horse.

Since the subsidence of silly talk recent writings on the subject clearly show that the soberest and best judgment of all concerned is that the policy proposed was a benevolent and wise one, which would have afforded a panacea for the threatened absorption of Manchuria by Russia and Japan, for suspicion against those powers and for apprehension of another clash between them in the future. It is also conceded that the carrying out of the plan would have formed a fine reduction to fact of the open-door policy, of which so much has been talked and written. The proposal has blown away the fog and shown the world the true policy of the powers in Manchuria. If it had served no other purpose, it would have been well worth while.

The Government of Honduras, some months ago, sent agents to New York to negotiate with American bankers for the refunding of the debt of Honduras, the reorganization of its finances on a sound basis and a sufficient loan, in addition, to make possible the completion of a railway line, together with some other useful improvements. These negotiations, which have had the support of the Department of State, are in a fair way toward success. The neutrality of Honduras was recognized by all Central America, as well as by Mexico and the United States, in the Washington conventions, as being the greatest guaranty to peaceful progress in those naturally rich republics; and it has long been felt that a strong Honduras, financially stated, would be the greatest practical contribution to peaceful conditions which no number of courts of arbitration or expressions of lofty sentiment can realize.

One of the recommendations of the commission which was sent to Liberia under an act of Congress, and a recommendation the administration is understood to approve in principle, is a loan of less than $2,000,000 to the Liberian Government to enable it to convert its debts and rehabilitate its finances. Any foreign banker would wish the administration of the customs, which would be security for the debt, to be in the hands of one of his countrymen, selected by his own government, in order to secure skillful and scrupulous administration.

In each of the foregoing examples of how Secretary Knox has been using Wall street it will be obvious that the enterprise could not succeed without the support of the Department of State, from which it follows, as a matter of course, that the Department of State is able to dictate to the bankers what must be the terms of any arrangement which can be diplomatically supported. In these circumstances, since the interest of this Government can only be the extension of American commerce, directly or indirectly, the amelioration of political conditions upon which commerce, progress, and civilization depend, and the furtherance of American prestige, the advantage of which is commercial as well as moral, it is, of course, impossible that the Department of State would support bankers' enterprises of the kind which, to be particularly profitable, must be particularly onerous. Indeed, the wonder is that our bankers are willing to go as far afield and undertake such difficult negotiations for ordinary profits when their own country affords so much easier business.

Doubtless this new tendency to foreign investment is due, in part, to the natural overflow of accumulated capital, but it seems also due to a new interest in and appreciation of international transactions by no means unalloyed with patriotic sentiment, and inspired also, no doubt, by a prestige of acting as an instrumentality in undertakings in which the Government is interested. Those of our publicists to whom Wall street is anathema have insinuated that the Department of State was run by Wall street. Any student of modern diplomacy knows that in these days of competition capital, trade, agriculture, labor, and statecraft all go hand in hand if a country is to profit through an enlightened diplomacy by its membership in the family of nations.

One of the difficulties which confront the Department of State is the fact that in some cases our bankers and business men have sharply competed for the prestige of being the honored recipient of one of the opportunities to be the Government's instrumentality. To measure the claims of different American interests is not a function which should burden the department charged with the conduct of our foreign relations, and it is to be hoped that some means may be found to provide against this difficulty and so put an end to disappointments which have too frequently been translated into injurious attack upon the Department of State. In other countries the instrumentalities of financial diplomacy are generally powerful wedges, presenting a united front in the foreign field and wide open at home. It is known to be the wish of Secretary Knox that whatever such opportunities there are may be participated in as broadly and impartially as possible by all interested, reputable, and suitable American agencies.

[The Secretary of State to the Nicaraguan chargé d'affaires, December 1, 1909.]

No. —. DECEMBER 1, 1909.

FELIPE RODRIGUEZ, Esq., etc.,
2003 O street, Washington, D. C.

SIR: Since the Washington convention of 1907 it is notorious that President Zelaya has almost continuously kept Central America in tension or turmoil, that he has repeatedly and flagrantly violated the provisions of the conventions, and by a baleful influence upon Honduras, whose neutrality the conventions were to assure, has sought to discredit those sacred international obligations to the great detriment of Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala, whose Governments meanwhile appear to have been able patiently to strive for the loyal support of the engagements so solemnly undertaken at Washington under the auspices of the United States and of Mexico.

It is equally a matter of common knowledge that under the régime of President Zelaya republican institutions have ceased in Nicaragua to exist except in name; that republic opinion and the press have been throttled; and that prison has been the reward of any tendency to real patriotism. My consideration for you personally impels me to abstain from unnecessary discussion of the painful details of a régime which unfortunately has been a blot upon the history of Nicaragua and a discouragement to a group of republics whose aspirations need only the opportunity of free and honest government.

In view of the interests of the United States and of its relation to the Washington conventions, appeal against this situation has long been made to this Government by a majority of the Central American republics. There is now added the appeal, through the revolution, of a great body of the Nicaraguan people. Two Americans who this Government is now convinced were officers connected with the revolutionary forces, and therefore entitled to be dealt with according to the enlightened practice of civilized nations, have been killed by direct order of President Zelaya. Their execution is said to have been preceded by barbarous cruelties. The consulate at Managua is now officially reported to have been menaced. There is thus a sinister culmination of an administration also characterized by a cruelty to its own citizens which has, until the recent outrage, found vent in the case of this country in a succession of petty annoyances and indignities which many months ago made it impossible to ask an American minister longer to reside at Managua. From every point of view it has evidently become difficult for the United States further to delay more active response to the appeals so long made to its duty to its citizens, to its dignity, to Central America, and to civilization.

The Government of the United States is convinced that the revolution represents the ideals and the will of a majority of the Nicaraguan people more faithfully than does the Government of President Zelaya, and that its peaceful control is well nigh as extensive as that hitherto so sternly attempted by the Government at Managua.

There is now added the fact, as officially reported from more than one quarter, that there are already indications of a rising in the western provinces in favor of a presidential candidate intimately associated with the old régime. In this it is easy to see new elements tending toward a condition of anarchy which leaves at a given time no definite responsible source to which the Government of the United States could look for reparation for the killing of Messrs. Cannon and Groce, or, indeed, for the protection which must be assured American citizens and American interests in Nicaragua.

In these circumstances the President no longer feels for the Government of President Zelaya that respect and confidence which would make it appropriate hereafter to maintain with it regular diplomatic relations, implying the will and the ability to respect and assure what is due from one state to another.

The Government of Nicaragua, which you have hitherto represented, is hereby notified, as will be also the leaders of the revolution, that the Government of the United States will hold strictly accountable for the protection of American life and property the factions de facto in control of the eastern and western portions of the Republic of Nicaragua.

As for the reparation found due, after careful consideration, for the killing of Messrs. Groce and Cannon, the Government of the United States would be loath to impose upon the innocent people of Nicaragua a too heavy burden of expiating the acts of a régime forced upon them or to exact from a succeeding government, if it have quite different policies, the imposition of such a burden. Into the question of ultimate reparation there must enter the question of the existence at Managua of a government capable of responding to demands. There must enter also the question how far it is possible to reach those actually responsible and those who perpetrated the tortures reported to have preceded the execution, if these be verified; and the question whether the Government be one entirely dissociated from the present intolerable conditions and worthy to be trusted to make impossible a recurrence of such acts, in which case the President, as a friend of your country, as he is also of the other Republics of Central America, might be disposed to have indemnity confined to what was reasonably due the relatives of the deceased and punitive only in so far as the punishment might fall where really due.

In pursuance of this policy the Government of the United States will temporarily withhold its demand for reparation, in the meanwhile taking such steps as it deems wise and proper to protect American interests.

To insure the future protection of legitimate American interests, in consideration of the interests of the majority of the Central American republics, and in the hope of making more effective the friendly offices exerted under the Washington conventions, the Government of the United States reserves for further consideration at the proper time the question of stipulating also that the constitutional Government of Nicaragua obligate itself by convention, for the benefit of all the Governments concerned, as a guaranty for its future loyal support of the Washington conventions and their peaceful and progressive aims.

From the foregoing it will be apparent to you that your office of chargé d'affaires is at an end. I have the honor to inclose your passport, for use in case you desire to leave this country. I would add at the same time that although your diplomatic quality is terminated I shall be happy to receive you, as I shall be happy to receive the representative of the revolution, each as the unofficial channel of communication between the Government of the United States and the de facto authorities to whom I look for the protection of American interests, pending the establishment in Nicaragua of a government with which the United States can maintain diplomatic relations.

Accept, sir, the renewed assurances of my high consideration.

P. C. Knox.

[The American consul at Bluefields to the Secretary of State. Telegram, April 28, 1910.]

Bluefields, *April 28, 1910.*
Received April 30, 1910, 4 p. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington, April 28, 8 p. m.:

The following has been received by Estrada, dated at Cartago, April 27:

"Although the Central American court of justice only exercises its authority in a controversy between the states, it believes that apart from its object as the tribunal of arbitration it can for the determinate purpose of its institution allow its voice of peace and concord to be heard when, as it appears in Nicaragua, the afflictions of the war involve Central American people. For this reason, in a resolution unanimously adopted to-day, the court resolved to address you and President Madriz, pleading that for love of country and for the good name of Central America you endeavor to immediately arrive at an understanding which will lead to peace. For this purpose the court wishes that you and the Government of His Excellency Doctor Madriz agree to an armistice of eight days, wherein to propose terms to this tribunal, which offers itself as a friendly mediator. Should this be favorably received by you, the court and Central America will have the glory of seeing the Nicaraguan question arranged within the family. By mail will be explained the considerations prompting the resolution herewith transmitted. We await reply by telegraph, to present to the court in permanent session.

"Alberto Ucles, *President.*
"Alfredo Jiminez, *Secretary.*"

Will advise reply sent by Estrada.

Moffatt.

[The Secretary of State to the president of the Central American court of justice, telegram, May 3, 1910.]

Department of State,
Washington, May 3, 1910.

His Excellency Dr. Alberto Ucles,
President Central American Court of Justice, Cartago:

Being advised that the Central American court of justice, acting in the spirit of the high purpose for which it was instituted, has, by unanimous resolution, made to Doctor Madriz and General Estrada identic representations urging armistice and direct agreement with the friendly mediation of the court, even before receiving the text thereof I hasten to congratulate the honorable judges upon this high-minded idea, which I hope may contribute to the establishment in Nicaragua of those conditions of good government, progress, and prosperity which the United States, like the republics of Central America, so greatly desires to see.

P. C. Knox,
Secretary of State of the United States of America.

[The Central American court of justice to the Secretary of State, telegram, May 11, 1910.]

San Jose, C. R., *Undated.*
Received May 11, 1910, 7.40 p. m.

Exo. Señor P. C. Knox,
Srio de Estado, Washington:

The Central American court of justice acknowledges with sincere thanks your excellency's cablegram dated yesterday, by which you congratulate it on the mediation it has rendered to secure peace in Nicaragua, and highly appreciate your excellency's wishes for the establishment of a government of order and prosperity in Nicaragua.

Alberto Ucles, *Presidente.*

[The Central American court of justice to the Secretary, May 5, 1910.]

Cartago, *May 5, 1910.*
Received 10 a. m.

The Most Excellent Mr. P. C. Knox,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.:

The Central American court of justice sincerely thanks your excellency for your kind cablegram, dated yesterday, by which you congratulate it on the friendly mediation it has rendered for the restoration of peace in Nicaragua, and highly appreciates your excellency's wishes that its mediation will contribute to the establishment in Nicaragua of the conditions of good government, progress, and prosperity, which your noble Nation desires for Central America.

Alberto Ucles, *President.*

[The Bluefields Steamship Company to the Secretary of State, telegram, November 17, 1909.]

New Orleans, La., *November 17, 1909.*
Received 4.06 p. m.

Hon. P. C. Knox,
Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.:

We have to-day received the following letter:

"In the name of the Provisional Government of Nicaragua, of which Gen. Juan J. Estrada is President, I notify you that the port of San Juan del Norte or Greytown, Nicaragua, is blockaded by our gunboats. Any vessel or vessels on attempting to run said blockade will be captured and confiscated a prize of war by my Government. Please acknowledge receipt of this communication, and oblige,

"Yours, truly,

"L. Sequiera,
"*Consul of the Provisional Government.*"

Our steamship *Imperator* due to sail Friday noon with freight for Bluefields, Cape Gracias, and Greytown, having arms or ammunition. Can they legally confiscate or detain steamer? Company not interested in Greytown cargo otherwise than as transportation company.

The Bluefields Steamship Company.

[The United Fruit Company to the Secretary of State, telegram, November 20, 1909.]

B. Telegram received plain—

New Orleans, La., *November 20, 1909.*
Received 11.58 a. m.

Secretary of State,
Washington, D. C.:

For the benefit and knowledge of our ships and shippers, as well as ourselves, please advise us what do you regard as the recognized government of Nicaragua and who is in power?

United Fruit Company.

[The Secretary of State to the Bluefields Steamship Company, telegram, November 18, 1909.]

Department of State,
Washington, November 18, 1909.

Bluefields Steamship Company,
New Orleans, La.:

If the announced blockade or investment of the Nicaraguan port of San Juan del Norte (Greytown) is effectively maintained and the requirements of international law, including warning to approaching vessels, are observed, this Government would not be disposed to interfere to prevent its enforcement. A naval vessel will be ordered to Greytown to observe and report whether the blockade is effective.

Knox.

Sent at 6.40 p. m. November 18, 1909.

[The Secretary of State to the American consul at Bluefields, telegram, November 21, 1909.]

November 21, 1909.

American Legation,
San Jose, Costa Rica (same to Bluefields):

On November the 19th the ministers of Guatemala, Costa Rica, and Salvador were jointly called to this department, when the Assistant Secretary of State made the following statement to them:

The following is a note of the verbal reply made November 19 by the Department of State to repeated representations made on behalf of the governments of Costa Rica, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

The aim of the majority of the signatory governments to reestablish the Washington conventions is laudable.

The principal direct interest in the conventions and the principal direct responsibility to prevent their perversion and their becoming discredited naturally rests with the majority of the signatories.

The Government of the United States does not feel called upon at this time to express precise views as to the measures which the majority of the governments might wisely take in case the conventions were in their opinion in jeopardy.

It is clearly understood that if the majority of the governments directly interested should feel compelled to take any joint measures in vindication of the conventions, such measures would only be taken by them in conjunction with a definite accord.

KNOX.

[The Acting Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, May 18, 1910.]

MAY 18, 1910.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the following telegram has just been received from the commanding officer of the U. S. S. *Paducah*, at Bluefields, Nicaragua:

BLUEFIELDS, NICARAGUA,
May 18, 1910.

Bluefields, May 17: Issued proclamation 16th to generals commanding Estrada and Madriz forces and *Venus*, that for protecting lives and property of foreigners in the town of Bluefields it is demanded: First, that there be no armed conflict in city; second, until stable government established armed force not exceeding 100 men allowed in Bluefields, necessary to police and preserve order; third, no armed revolutionary forces in Bluefields: bombardment of city prohibited. Estrada refuses to surrender. *Venus*, Irias commanding, intercepted Norwegian steamer *Dictator* from New Orleans, under American charter, and removed one bag of mail from *Gracias Adios* for Bluefields and one man held prisoner by Estrada. Both returned to me on demand. Prisoner desires remain on *Venus*. Request instructions. Shall I permit *Venus* to search on high seas or within 3-mile limit foreign vessels under American charter and seize vessels carrying arms and ammunition or to seize contraband articles? Shall I recognize blockade made during siege of Bluefields? Shall I permit vessels to enter and leave Bluefields without searched by *Venus?*

GILMER.

The department requests to be informed as to what instructions the State Department desires shall be forwarded to Commander Gilmer in reply to his inquiries contained in the above telegram.

Respectfully, yours,

BEEKMAN WINTHROP.
Acting Secretary of the Navy.

The Hon. the SECRETARY OF STATE, *Washington.*

[The Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy, May 24, 1910.]

MAY 24, 1910.

The Honorable the SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the letter, dated the 18th instant, file No. 27342, from Mr. Winthrop, Acting Secretary of the Navy, in which he quotes a telegram, dated the 17th instant, from Commander Gilmer of the U. S. S. *Paducah*, then at Bluefields, Nicaragua, in which he reports that on the 16th instant he issued a proclamation to the commanding generals of the Estrada and Madriz forces, making certain demands looking to the protection of the lives and property of foreigners in Bluefields.

In the telegram Commander Gilmer requests to be instructed as to his course respecting the *Venus* and the blockade at Bluefields. Mr. Winthrop requests in his letter that the Navy Department be informed as to what instructions this department desires shall be forwarded to Commander Gilmer in reply to his inquiries contained in the telegram above mentioned.

In reply I have the honor to say that, in conformity with the oral understanding arrived at between officers of the State and Navy departments, a telegram was sent on the 19th instant to the American consul at Managua, to be made known by him to the Madriz faction, giving him the following paraphrase of the pertinent part of instructions telegraphed on that day by the Navy Department to Commander Gilmer:

"The United States policy as to the blockade at Bluefields, whose announcement by the Madriz faction would seem to constitute a recognition on their part of the belligerency of the Estrada faction, will naturally be the same as that laid down in regard to the blockade at Greytown by the Estrada faction. The Secretary of State then held that if the announced blockade or investment was effectively maintained and the requirements of international law, including warning to approaching vessels, were observed the United States Government would not be disposed to prevent its enforcement, but reserved all rights in respect to the validity of any proceedings against vessels as prizes of war. In the present instance it should, however, be observed that a vessel which, by deceiving the authorities at a port of the United States, sailed therefrom in the guise of a merchantman, but had in reality been destined for use as a war vessel, by such act has forfeited full belligerent rights, such as the right of search on the high seas and of blockade."

A telegram, mutatis mutandis, was also sent at the same time to the consul at Bluefields.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,

For Mr. KNOX,
HUNTINGTON WILSON,
Assistant Secretary of State.

[The Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, June 7, 1910.]

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
Washington, June 7, 1910.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the following telegram has been received from the commanding officer of the U. S. S. *Paducah:*

BLUEFIELDS, NICARAGUA, *June 5, 1910.*

Dubuque arrived. *Paducah* left (to-day) for Colon. American sailors (have) returned to (their) ships. (I) received a communication to-day from General Rivas, commanding Madriz forces, Bluefields Bluff, stating that certain vessels had been used by Estrada forces and that he would not permit vessels of Bluefields Steamship Company, Atlantic Navigation Company, Bellinger Company, and Cukra Company, all American companies, to pass through the waters held by Madriz forces. I informed him that Estrada had the right to use these vessels with consent of owners if properly remunerated, but while so used Rivas had the right to capture or destroy them; but when in the company's legitimate trade I would permit no interference with them. (I) have ordered guard American marines or sailors on vessels passing Bluff when in legitimate trade. Have informed Rivas that if they were fired (upon) I would return the fire and would seize the *Venus* and *San Jacinto* (and) that I would permit no interference with shipping of American firms in legitimate business. (The) *Venus* (has) not returned.

GILMER.

Respectfully, yours,

G. VON L. MEYER.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE, *Washington.*

[Bellengers, Inc., and sixteen other corporations and firms, to the Secretary of State, telegram, May 25, 1910.]

B. Telegram received. Plain —.

From NEW ORLEANS, LA., *dated May 25, 1910.*
Received May 26, 9.10 a. m.

HON. PHILANDER C. KNOX,
Washington, D. C.:

Please take note of following telegram sent Chairman CULLOM:

The undersigned, representing 80 per cent of the $7,000,000 American capital invested in the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua in commerce, mining, and agriculture, desire to express their approval of the action taken in preventing the bombardment and blockading of the port of Bluefields and in landing marines for the protection of American lives and property. Any other action would have placed the lives of American women and children in jeopardy and would have caused irreparable loss and consequent ruin to the owners of American property. We feel the State Department is protecting American interests, and being the ones vitally interested, submit this for your consideration.

Bellengers Incorporated; Samuel Weil & Co.; Lone Star Mining Company; E. Brautigam & Co.; Topaz Mining Company; New Orleans and Central American Trading Company; Silverstein & Kelting; Brown & Harris; Cape Gracias Trading Company; R. Lehmann & Co.; A. Meyer & Co.; Rio Grande Supply Company; Siempre Viva Mining Company; La Luna Mining Company; La Luz and Los Angeles Mining Company.

[The Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, May 17, 1910.]

27342.

DEPARTMENT OF THE NAVY,
Washington, May 17, 1910.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the following telegram has been received from the commanding officer, U. S. S. *Paducah:*

BLUEFIELDS, NICARAGUA, *May 16.*

[The] *Venus,* flying the Nicaraguan flag, arrived at 3 p. m. [She] will send to-morrow [to] demand surrender [of] Bluefields and [to give] twenty-four hours' notice [of] bombardment [of] Bluefields bluff. Fighting at Cema to-day reported. *Dubuque* arrived.

GILMER.

Respectfully, yours,

G. VON MEYER.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington.

[The American consul at Bluefields to the Secretary of State, No. 151, May 25, 1910.]

No. 151.

AMERICAN CONSULATE,
Bluefields, Nicaragua, May 25, 1910.

(Subject: Proclamation of Commander Gilmer, of the U. S. S. *Paducah,* re fighting in Bluefields.)

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington.

SIR: I have the honor to communicate the text of a proclamation issued by Commander Gilmer, of the U. S. S. *Paducah,* dated off Bluefields, Nicaragua, May 16, 1910, the same being addressed:

To the generals commanding the forces of
Madriz and Estrada and the officer commanding the Venus:

The following extracts, taken from the note of the Secretary of State of the United States, dated December 1, 1909, addressed to Felipe Rodrigues, esquire, former chargé d'affaires of Nicaragua accredited to the United States, upon the occasion of returning his passports and informing him that his office of chargé d'affaires for Nicaragua was at an end:

The Government of Nicaragua, which you represent, is hereby notified, as well as the leaders of the revolution, that the Government of the United States will hold strictly accountable for the protection of life and property the factions de facto in control of the eastern and western portions of the Republic of Nicaragua; and

I would add at the time that, although your diplomatic quality is terminated, I shall be happy to receive you, as I shall be happy to receive the representative of the revolution, each as the unofficial channel of communication between the Government of the United States and the de facto authorities to whom I look to for the protection of American interests pending the establishment in Nicaragua of a government with which the United States can maintain diplomatic relations.

It will be seen from the above that the attitude of the Government of the United States is that no government exists at the present time in Nicaragua with which diplomatic relations will be held; that the United States assumes a neutral position as regards the contending factions, and will receive the representative of each as the unofficial channel of communication between the United States and the de facto authorities; that the United States will hold strictly accountable the factions de facto in control for the life and property of the American citizens.

I am sent here with the forces under my command, consisting of the United States cruisers *Paducah* and *Dubuque* to safeguard the lives and property of American citizens. I hold a strictly neutral position as regards the contending factions, and favor neither one side nor the other.

In the event of an engagement taking place in Bluefields, the lives and property of American citizens would be endangered, and it is manifest that neither one faction nor the other could be held accountable as is demanded by the Government of the United States.

Therefore, to the end that I may carry out my duty of protecting the lives and property of American citizens and that of noncombatant foreigners within the limits of the town of Bluefields not represented by military force of their respective governments, it is demanded that—

There shall be no armed conflict in the town of Bluefields.

Until a stable government is established only such armed forces will be allowed in the town of Bluefields as are necessary to police the town and preserve order, not to exceed 100 men.

As there are no bodies of armed men of the revolutionary forces in Bluefields, I will not permit the bombardment of the town of Bluefields, as a bombardment could only result in destruction of lives and property of American and other foreign citizens.

These demands will be enforced against offending forces of either government or revolutionary factions by armed force under my command.

In case of imminence of battle in the vicinity of Bluefields, this proclamation will be delivered through the American consul to the commanding generals concerned.

W. W. GILMER,
Commander, United States Navy.

The foregoing proclamation was delivered through the medium of this office to General Lara, commanding the forces of Madriz in the rear of Bluefields, and to General Chavarria, commanding the forces of Madriz at Rama; Commander Gilmer through one of his officers delivered the same to General Irias, commanding the *Venus*.

I have the honor to be, sir,
Your obedient servant,
THOMAS MOFFAT,
American Consul.

[The Acting Secretary of the Navy to the Secretary of State, May 31, 1910.]

27342–81.

NAVY DEPARTMENT,
Washington, May 31, 1910.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington.

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that the following message was received yesterday evening from the commanding officer of the U. S. S. *Paducah,* at Bluefields, Nicaragua:

BLUEFIELDS, *May 29.*

SECRETARY OF THE NAVY:

Irias holds Bluefields Bluff, where custom-house was. Estrada has established new custom-house up the river, where vessels can discharge. Irias claims all goods entering Bluefields Bay must pay import duties to him, and that vessels sailing for Bluefields after May 31 may enter only at his discretion. He does not object to coastwise trade, provided vessels and cargo are inspected at the bluff; claims all exports originating in Nicaragua leaving Bluefields Bay must pay export duties to him. All goods consigned "Bluefields" and not "Bluefields Bluff;" and Estrada claims duties. Irias claims port closed by proclamation beginning of revolution, but new proclamation will be issued. Steamer due June 2. Request instructions. William Pittman, 178 Spring street, Cambridge, Mass., American citizen captured by Madriz forces May 27 while attempting to explode a mine planted at Haulover as defense of Bluff.

He is held as prisoner of war. I saw him to-day. Have notified his brother by letter. Am informed all Norwegian fruit steamers withdrawn from Nicaraguan waters. Madriz lost 19 killed and 19 wounded at capture of bluff.

GILMER—*4 p. m.*

The department requests to be informed what action the State Department desires taken in this case. In view of the fact that some action will be necessary in the case of steamer due to arrive at Bluefields on June 2, immediate action is requested.

Respectfully, yours,

R. F. NICHOLSON,
Acting Secretary of the Navy.

[The Secretary of State to the Secretary of the Navy, June 3, 1910.]

JUNE 3, 1910.

The honorable the SECRETARY OF THE NAVY.

SIR: Referring to your letter of May 31, relative to the situation in Nicaragua, I have the honor to confirm the verbal communications already made on the subject, in which the suggestion of this department was favorably received by yourself, to the effect that telegraphic instructions be sent to Commander Gilmer, about as follows:

"The attitude of the United States remains precisely as set forth in the Secretary of State's letter to Rodriguez, December 1, 1909, which continues entirely applicable to the present situation. The capture by the Madriz faction of the former custom-house at the bluff does not affect the fact that Bluefields, with certain adjacent territory, for which goods hitherto passing that custom-house are intended, appears to remain as heretofore under the de facto control of the Estrada faction. This Government therefore admits the right of the Estrada faction to collect customs for Bluefields and denies this right to the other faction. Inasmuch as this Government recognizes neither faction as a government of Nicaragua, but merely as in de facto control of portions of the country, proclamations on either part which are inconsistent with this attitude are without effect on the United States and its citizens.

"The consul at Bluefields reports that the American-owned sloop *Adelaide* has been seized by Madriz faction and that American-owned schooner *Esfuerzo* was stopped and American-owned cargo seized by those in control at the bluff. This Government denies the right of either faction to seize American-owned vessels or property without consent of and recompense to the owners. In such cases, if you can ascertain ownership, you will instantly act in accordance with this policy.

"You will immediately notify both factions and the shipping interests of the foregoing."

I have also the honor to inform you that a copy of the above telegram was sent to the American consul at Bluefields for his information.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

HUNTINGTON WILSON,
Assistant Secretary of State.
For Mr. KNOX.

[The American consul at Bluefields to the Secretary of State, June 5, 1910.]

T. Telegram received. Cipher —.

BLUEFIELDS, *January 5, 1910.*
Received 12.50 p. m.

SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, January 5—5 p. m.

Commander of His Majesty's ship *Scylla* has served notice upon Generals Estrada and Hurlado, commanding revolutionary and government forces, respectively, which says in part:

"The majority of houses in Greytown being owned by British subjects, there must be no fighting within that town. If any does take place there, I shall consider myself at liberty to land strong armed party and guns to stop it."

As he does not stipulate occupying forces must leave town to defend attack made by Estrada forces, it is very evident the latter can neither attempt to retake town and defeat forces nor attack as the blockading party from the sea.

MOFFAT.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 19, 1909.

BELANGERS (Incorporated),
New Orleans, La.:

With regard to your telegram of yesterday, I repeat for your information the following telegram sent to the Bluefields Steamship Company: Quote. If the announced blockade or investment of the Nicaraguan port of San Juan del Norte (Greytown) is effectively maintained and the requirements of international law, including warning to approaching vessels are observed, this Government would not be disposed to interfere to prevent its enforcement. A naval vessel will be ordered to Greytown to observe and report whether the blockade is effective. Signed Knox. End quote.

The safety of a ship's going to a port which is closed or blockaded, in fact or in theory, is a question for the interested parties to determine and act on, and not a question for determination by the officials concerned in clearances.

KNOX.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

The people of this country are greatly interested in the Attorney-General's department, in the faithfulness and vigor with which that official enforces the antitrust act and other laws for the protection of the interests of the people. A brief statement of what it has been and is doing may prove of interest.

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909, the United States collected fines in rebate cases for violations of the Elkins Act aggregating $320,600.

In April, 1909, the department collected $3,435,563.88 from the American Sugar Refining Company on account of duties fraudulently withheld by it from the Government.

In April, 1910, the Department of Justice instituted a criminal suit against the Imperial Window Glass Company, of Pittsburg, and its officers and directors for having combined and conspired in restraint of trade in window glass, in violation of the Sherman Act.

In June, 1910, the department brought a civil suit against the Southern Wholesale Grocers' Association and a large number of individual defendants, alleging the violation of the Sherman Act in the fixing, by agreement, of prices and terms of sale for groceries and necessaries of life throughout the Southern States of the United States.

In June, 1910, the department instituted a civil proceeding against the Great Lakes Towing Company and subsidiary companies, charging that that company and its subsidiary companies were attempting to monopolize transportation of freight and passengers and the towing of vessels, barges, and boats on the Great Lakes, and seeking to enjoin further violations of the act.

In June, 1910, after an investigation conducted by the department for several months before the grand jury in the southern district of New York into conditions existing in the cotton industry, based upon charges that certain persons had conspired to restrain interstate trade and commerce in cotton, and to increase the price of cotton and to limit competition and its sale in interstate commerce, an indictment was returned by the grand jury against the persons whose conduct had been investigated. The persons so indicted are Sidney J. Harman, Charles A. Kittle, W. P. Brown, Frank Hayne, Eugene G.

Scales, Morris Rothschild, R. M. Thompson, and James A. Patten.

In February, 1910, the Department of Justice endeavored to invoke the Sherman Act in an effort to suppress night-rider outrages prevalent in Kentucky, and as a result of its investigation an indictment was returned against certain individuals in Covington, Ky. In April a trial was had and eight individuals were found guilty by the jury and sentenced by the court for interfering with interstate shipment of tobacco.

During the past year the department has prosecuted vigorously the suits previously instituted against the powder trust and the anthracite-coal combination. It has also prosecuted the case of United States against the Union Pacific and Southern Pacific railroads, also brought under the antitrust act.

In the latter part of May the department began a suit at St. Louis against the 25 railroads, members of the western trunk-line committee, who had agreed to advance rates simultaneously on June 1, 1910. An injunction was obtained, which prevented the advances in rates going into effect. This suit resulted in the railroads agreeing to withdraw all advances which they had contemplated making on June 1, both those reached by the temporary restraining order and other advances not so reached.

In March, 1910, the department in a criminal prosecution obtained an indictment against the National Packing Company and G. H. Hammond Company and subsidiary companies at Chicago for combining and conspiring to restrain interstate commerce in fresh meats. At the same time a proceeding in equity was commenced against the same parties to restrain further violations.

INDIANS.

During the present administration the Department of Justice has secured a decision from the United States circuit court of appeals which is a signal victory for the Government. The United States has always assumed the attitude of a guardian toward the Indians. In order to protect their interests, restrictions as to sale were placed upon the lands of the Indians. Notwithstanding these solemn provisions of law, the white people throughout the country where there are Indians, particularly among the Five Civilized Tribes in Oklahoma, had induced the Indians to make deeds to their lands. In this manner deeds were given to some 30,000 allotments of Indian land. There arose the question as to whether the United States could, as sole party plaintiff, invoke the courts to set aside these unlawful conveyances, thus clearing up the Indian titles. A decree of the circuit court denied the Government this right, and upon appeal to the circuit court of appeals this decision was reversed on June 8, 1910. The pathway of the Government effectively to administer its delicate trust in this behalf has been cleared.

A suit brought by the United States against the Northern Pacific Railway Company resulted in a decree on January 11, 1910, which restores to the Yakima tribe of Indians 21,000 acres of land which the railway company was holding adversely to the Indians. The decree is determinative of the right of these

Indians to 293,837 acres of land as against the Northern Pacific Railway Company.

PUBLIC LANDS.

Since March 4, 1909 (excepting the first few months and excepting, of course, the reports from United States attorneys not received to date), the following figures are important:

Number of civil suits instituted	389
Number of criminal suits instituted	264
Acreage of land recovered by removal of unlawful fences	393, 512
Acreage of land recovered by cancellation of fraudulent patents	10, 561. 78
Amount of money recovered owing to unlawful taking of timber, timber products, and coal	$131, 165. 87
Amount of fines recovered in criminal cases	$67, 698. 96
Acreage of land unlawfully fenced in which suits are pending	43, 835
Acreage of fraudulent land patent cases in which suits are pending	87, 348. 61
Amount of money involved in pending suits growing out of timber trespasses, coal trespasses, etc	$1, 254, 093. 83

Volumes might be written in description and commendation of the important matters to which I have but briefly referred. It is impossible for me even briefly, in the time which I am permitted to occupy, to refer to the good work which, under the direction of the President, is being accomplished in the other departments of the Government. The more carefully and fully the people of this country consider the record of this administration the more heartily and unanimously do all lovers of progressive and good government extend to President Taft the merited commendation, "Well done, good and faithful servant." [Loud applause.]

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WOODROW WILSON, THE ANTI-JEFFERSON, ANTI-FOREIGN, ANTI-LABOR, ANTI-SOLDIER, AND PRO-CHINESE CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. RODENBERG

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

JULY 26, 1912

WASHINGTON
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
1912

54391—11288

SPEECH

OF

HON. WILLIAM A. RODENBERG.

The House being in Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 25970) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year 1912, and for prior years, and for other purposes—

Mr. RODENBERG said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: When a great political party has nominated its candidate for the office of President of the United States it is only natural that the people should immediately manifest an intense interest both in the personality of the nominee and in the principles for which he is known to stand. His habits of life, his opinions on social and economic questions, his theories of governmental policy, become at once legitimate and interesting subjects of inquiry and investigation. While it is true that in a Republic like ours government must necessarily be conducted by and through political parties, yet it is also true that the platform of principles adopted by a political party and on the strength of which the candidate appeals for popular support is in no sense a true index of the candidate's worth or of his fitness for the office to which he aspires. In this enlightened day and age, when the standard of general intelligence is higher than it has ever been, the personality of the candidate becomes in a very large measure the true platform of his party. The people are more vitally interested in ascertaining the honest convictions of the candidate, formed in a time of sober and mature reflection, uninfluenced by ambition or hope of political preferment, than they are in any professions or promises contained in a platform which they know has been constructed solely to meet the exigencies of practical politics. In the history of American politics, with but very few exceptions, no man has ever been nominated for the high office of President of the United States by either of the great contending parties who was wholly unknown to fame or who had not previously rendered distinguished services to his country on the field of battle, in legislative forum,

Gift

or in high executive or judicial place. The candidates who have been nominated by the Republican and Democratic Parties in this year of 1912 are not an exception to this rule. Both are men of high personal character, and both have records of public or semipublic service, which should enable the intelligent voter to form a correct conclusion as to their relative worth and fitness.

William Howard Taft has had a long and honorable career as a Federal judge, as governor of the Philippines, as Secretary of War, and as President of the United States. Woodrow Wilson, on the other hand, has been in public life for a very short time, having served less than two years in the office of governor of the State of New Jersey, that being the only political office that he has ever held. He has, however, had a long and honorable career as president of Princeton University, one of the great universities of this Nation, and he has had even a longer career as an author of note and distinction. He has been a most prolific writer, exploring every nook and corner of the field of history, sociology, and political economy. In his voluminous writings and public addresses every subject in which the American people have ever shown the slightest interest, with the possible exception of the question of race suicide, has been treated by him in a manner which reflects great credit on his intellectual courage and independence, if not upon his political foresight and acumen. But I want to say in defense of the scholarly professor and man of letters that at the time he was expressing his honest views on these multitudinous subjects his fine literary soul was unvexed and unannoyed by the alluring prospects of political preferment. The shadow of the White House had not fallen athwart his peaceful path. The presidential bee had not yet begun to buzz. In fact, it had not even been hatched.

It is with this period in the professor's life that I purpose to deal to-day. For the benefit of such as do not have ready access to his numerous publications I desire to call attention to some of the startling views expressed by Prof. Wilson on men and measures, principally as they appear in his most important work, "History of the American People." This history was published in 1902, only 10 years ago. At the time of publication Prof. Wilson was 46 years of age, and by reason of his erudition and scholarly attainments enjoyed then, as he does now, the titles of doctor of philosophy, doctor of literature, and doctor of laws. It will be apparent, therefore, that the views expressed by him are not the hasty and ill-considered fulminations of a college graduate, but rather the sober and philosophic reflections of the matured student and thinker.

WOODROW WILSON VERSUS THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Mr. Chairman, Thomas Jefferson is regarded as the founder of the Democratic Party and by common consent is accepted as its patron saint. His teachings have furnished Democracy's inspiration since the foundation of the party. Impassioned Democratic orators have been known to bring tears to the eyes of their listeners while describing the patriotic pulsations of that great heart that was wont to beat in sympathy with the oppressed of all mankind. In glowing terms they have pictured Thomas Jefferson as the great commoner, the embodiment of all the homely virtues, simple in all of his tastes, and devoted to the plain people of whom he was part and parcel. No Democratic national convention has ever failed to pay homage to the "Sage of Monticello." At the convention which met at Baltimore we find as the first resolution that time-honored, moss-grown, stereotyped expression with which we are all so familiar:

> We, the representatives of the Democratic Party in national convention assembled, reaffirm our devotion to the principles of Democratic government as formulated by Thomas Jefferson.

To-day the mantle of the immortal Jefferson rests upon the narrow but classic shoulders of the Princeton professor. That mantle was placed there amid scenes of great excitement on the second day of July, by the frenzied followers of the lamented Jefferson in convention assembled at Baltimore. It was done in the daytime, in the full glare of the midday sun, at an hour when the spirits of the departed that hover forever near the scene of their earthly activities are supposed to go into retirement, preparing for their nightly walks. Jefferson was taken at a disadvantage, and he is therefore not to blame, for, if given an opportunity, I insist that the spirit of the author of the Declaration of Independence would certainly have protested, and protested vigorously, against the action of that convention. In righteous indignation he would have pointed to page 3, volume 4, of Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American people," in which appears this sentiment:

> The difference between Mr. Jefferson and Gen. Jackson was not a difference of moral quality so much as a difference in social stock and breeding. Mr. Jefferson, an aristocrat, and yet a philosophical radical, deliberately practiced the arts of the politician and exhibited oftentimes the sort of insincerity which subtle natures yield to without loss of essential integrity.

He would next have pointed to page 289 of Wilson's "Life of George Washington," in which Prof. Wilson characterizes Thomas Jefferson as a "philosophical radical rather than a statesman," and says further:

> Washington found him a guide who needed watching.

Mr. Chairman, if Woodrow Wilson is correct in saying that Thomas Jefferson was at heart an aristocrat while pretending to be of and for the common people, if he is correct in placing upon him the brand of insincerity, then Jefferson was easily the greatest demagogue, the most consummate hypocrite that has ever lived in the tide of the times. If Wilson is correct in saying that in the critical formative period of our Nation's life Jefferson was wanting in loyalty to Washington, in whose Cabinet he served, and that he was "a guide who needed watching," then I insist that Jefferson was not a patriot, but a dissembler and an intriguer.

I for one, however, refuse to accept Woodrow Wilson's estimate of the character of Thomas Jefferson. I decline to have one of the historic idols of my youth and manhood shattered by a Democratic candidate for the Presidency. [Applause on the Republican side.] As the years recede the halo that surrounds the memory of the immortal Jefferson grows brighter and brighter, and I insist that that halo can not and must not be dissipated by Woodrow Wilson or any other Democratic theorist in the United States. The fame of Jefferson is secure; his is "one of the few, the immortal names that were not born to die." But with Woodrow Wilson as the candidate for the Presidency I insist that it is high time for the Democratic

Party, as a matter of expediency, if not consistency, for the latter is well-nigh impossible, and in justice to both Jefferson and Wilson, to change the name of its patron saint.

It is always a great embarrassment to a candidate to find himself out of harmony with a popular tradition of his party, and it is not exactly fair to the memory of the man who is responsible for the tradition.

WILSON VERSUS THE FOREIGN-BORN CITIZEN.

Mr. Chairman, I was under the impression that the spirit of "Knownothingism" that was once rampant in this country was long since dead. I was under the impression that that spirit had been crushed out of existence forever by the convincing power of the great truth which lies at the very foundation of our republican form of government, that "all men are created free and equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." I did not believe that the time would ever come when a great political party would nominate as its candidate for President a man in whom there seems still to linger a trace of the intolerance, the prejudice, and the narrow resentment that gave birth to the un-American, antiforeign agitation of some 50 years ago.

On page 212, volume 5, Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American people," I find this remarkable statement:

> Now, there came multitudes of men of the lowest class from the south of Italy and men of the meaner sort out of Hungary and Poland, men out of the ranks where there was neither skill nor energy nor any initiative of quick intelligence; and they came in numbers which increased from year to year, as if the countries of the south of Europe were disburdening themselves of the more sordid and hapless elements of their population. The people of the Pacific coast had clamored these many years against the admission of immigrants out of China, and in May, 1892, got at last what they wanted—a Federal statute which practically excluded from the United States all Chinese who had not already acquired the right of residence; and yet the Chinese were more to be desired, as workmen if not as citizens, than most of the coarse crew that came crowding in every year at the eastern ports.

Mr. Chairman, it has long been our proud boast that ours is the land of liberty and of opportunity.

Here, on the hospitable shores of the "home of the free," the persecuted of the earth have always found a refuge and an asylum. Our welcome has gone out to all alike. We recognize neither class nor caste, nationality nor religion. Every honest immigrant, no matter from what country he hails, whether from the north of Europe, the south of Europe, the east of Europe, or the west of Europe, if able to meet the requirements of our liberal immigration laws, is invited to partake of our liberties and to join with us in working out the manifest destiny of the American Republic. [Applause on the Republican side.]

It is this spirit that lies at the basis of our national greatness. It is this spirit that is responsible for our national supremacy. And to the eternal credit of the vast majority of our foreign-born citizens, including those from the south of Europe, be it said, that when they take the oath of allegiance to the laws and Constitution of our country, they become American citizens, not only in word, but in spirit as well, and they instill in the hearts of their children a sincere love and reverence for the old flag and for the institutions of their adopted country. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Oh, my friends, the history of civilization teaches us that liberty does not live with the rich, the powerful, and the great. It lives with the poor, the lowly, the humble, and the oppressed. Its fires have always burned more brightly in the humble cot of the day laborer than in the stately mansion of the multimillionaire. [Applause on the Republican side.]

God knows, I would not deny to any man, no matter how lowly his position in life, the right to enjoy the liberty of a free country. While I believe in the strict enforcement of our immigration laws, to protect us against the vicious, the lawless, and the depraved, yet I would not draw the line against admitting immigrants who, judged by our own experience, possess the possibility of developing into useful American citizenship.

My sympathy goes out to the man who has never had a chance in the struggle for existence, to the man whose dreary pathway through life has never been illuminated by the bright, golden sunlight of hope and opportunity. I would not discriminate against the Italian, the Hungarian, or the Pole. I have not forgotten that Columbus was the son of an Italian laborer. I have not forgotten that among the great sculptors and artists who have given Italy her proud place in the world of art are the sons of men who earned their bread in the sweat of their brows. Ah, genius knows no nationality, and is not the result of birth or location. No nation has a monopoly on intellect, a corner on brains. Italy has her Garibaldi, Poland, her Kosciuszko, Hungary, her Kossuth; and even the learned Princeton professor may profit by reading the inspiring story of their heroic lives. [Applause on the Republican side.] In this land of equal opportunity, the son of the immigrant of to-day may become the American statesman of to-morrow. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Oh, as I read the pathetic story of the patriotic struggle of the people of the south of Europe for greater freedom and for larger opportunity, and as I recall all that they have contributed to the genius of our national life, I must take issue with Prof. Wilson. I believe that these people are superior in every way to the Chinese, and that it is an insult to the Caucasian race to say that they are not. [Applause on the Republican side.]

WILSON THE FRIEND OF THE CHINAMAN.

Prof. Wilson seems to be especially fond of the Chinese. Continuing the quotation which I have just read, on page 213, volume 5, of Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American people," the professor proceeds as follows:

> They—

Meaning the Chinese—

> had, no doubt, many an unsavory habit, bred unwholesome squalor in the crowded quarters where they most abounded in the western seaports, and seemed separated by their very nature from the people among whom they had come to live—

Now listen—

> but *it was their skill, their intelligence, their hardy power of labor, their knack at succeeding and driving duller rivals out, rather than their alien habits*, that made them feared and hated and led to their exclusion *at the prayer of the men they were likely to displace*, should they multiply. The unlikely fellows who came in at the eastern ports were tolerated because they usurped no place but the very lowest in the scale of labor.

Mr. Chairman, the history of the Geary Act, which passed in 1892, and which resulted in the exclusion of the Chinese from the United States, tells us that that act was passed upon the unanimous and urgent request of American workingmen, who justly regarded the Chinaman as an alien, incapable of assimilation and incapable of Americanization. I do not agree with Prof. Wilson in the statement that the workingmen of this country were driven to make demand upon Congress for this legislation because of their "*fear of the superior skill and intelligence*" of the Chinese. I know of no wage earner in the great industrial district which I have the honor to represent in this chamber who is not the superior of the Chinaman in point of "*skill, intelligence, or power of labor.*" I know of no American wage earner anywhere who is only a "*dull rival*" of the Chinaman. There can be no rivalry between the intelligent laborers of the United States and the ignorant coolies of China. Rivalry can exist only between equals. There is no equality between an American and a Chinaman, and Prof. Wilson wholly underestimates the character and the capacity of the American workingman when he makes a statement to the contrary. [Applause on the Republican side.]

As I read Prof. Wilson's glowing tribute to the Chinese race I could readily understand why the Chinese Students' Club of America met in the city of New York on the 2d day of February, 1912, and solemnly indorsed the candidacy of their friend, "Wood*l*ow Wilson." [Laughter on the Republican side.] I can readily understand why there was such great rejoicing in the Chinese laundries of this country when the news went out that Wilson had been nominated for President at Baltimore. [Laughter on the Republican side.] Even at the risk of alarming my colleagues on this side of the Chamber I am forced to admit that the Chinese vote is hopelessly lost to the Republican Party. [Laughter on the Republican side.] It has gone over in a body to Wood*l*ow Wilson. [Applause on the Republican side.]

WILSON VERSUS LABOR UNIONS.

Mr. Chairman, I believe in union labor and in labor unions. I regard them as the logical outgrowth of our modern industrial system, and I know that they have accomplished much for the betterment of the conditions of those who toil for a living. During the 12 years that I have been honored with a seat in this Chamber I think my colleagues will bear me out when I say that I have always been a consistent and loyal supporter of any measure that was presented for the consideration of this House which would prove beneficial to the working men of this country. I believe that any man who has ever given the slightest thought to this subject recognizes and fully appreciates the great and good work that is being done by the labor unions of to-day.

The Democratic Party in the platform adopted at Baltimore professes undying friendship for organized labor, and then, as an evidence of its sincerity, nominates as its candidate for President, Woodrow Wilson, who, on the 13th day of June, 1909, only three short years ago, in a baccalaureate address to a graduating class at Princeton, expressed the following remarkable views on this all-important subject:

> You know what the usual standard of the employee is in our day. *It is to give as little as he may for his wages.* Labor is standardized by the trades unions, and this is the standard to which it is made to conform. *No one is suffered to do more than the average workman* can do; in some trades and handicrafts no one is suffered to do more *than the least skillful of his fellows can do within the hours allotted to a day's labor, and no one may work out of hours at all,* or *volunteer anything beyond the minimum.* I need not point out how economically disastrous such a regulation of labor is. It is so unprofitable to the employer that in some trades it will presently not be worth while to attempt anything at all. He had better stop altogether than operate at an inevitable and invariable loss.
>
> The labor of America is rapidly becoming unprofitable under its present regulation by those who have determined to reduce it to a minimum. Our economic supremacy may be lost because the country grows more and more full of unprofitable servants.

I do not agree with Prof. Wilson that members of trades unions are "*unprofitable servants.*" I do not agree with him that the man who belongs to a labor organization is trying "*to give as little as possible for his wages.*" I do not agree with him that the work of the least skillful member of a labor organization sets the standard which marks the amount of work that his fellow craftsmen can perform. I do not believe that that great organization, the American Federation of Labor, is trying to make American labor unprofitable by reducing it to a minimum.

I do not believe that Mr. Gompers, Mr. Mitchell, and Mr. Morrison are trying to destroy the economic supremacy of the United States. If I read Prof. Wilson aright, he is opposed to putting any limitation on the hours of labor, and would therefore, in order to produce more "*profitable servants,*" exact from the wage earner all that human endurance is capable of producing.

My friends, the recognition of the eight-hour day as constituting a day's work is one of the greatest triumphs of organized labor. [Applause.] It represents years of faithful, patient, intelligent effort and agitation, and it is in full harmony with the enlightened spirit of the times. Its abolition, as so manifestly desired by Prof. Wilson, in order to produce more "*profitable servants,*" may prove popular with a Princeton graduating class, but I am sure that it will never prove popular with the 20,000 union men who live and work and vote in the twenty-second congressional district of Illinois. [Applause.]

And I go further. I measure my words well when I say that organized labor would receive a blow from which it would not recover in 20 years if a man holding the views that Woodrow Wilson holds on the question of labor organizations should be elected to the Presidency on a platform which limits his tenure of office to a single term in the White House. Platform or no platform, he would consider himself free to bend every energy and to use the power and influence of his great office to carry into effect his own narrow views on the question of organized labor.

WILSON VERSUS THE SOLDIER.

Mr. Chairman, on the 12th day of December, 1911, 98 Democratic Members of the present House joined with 130 Republicans and 1 Socialist and passed the Sherwood service pension bill. Eighty-four Democrats and only eight Republicans are recorded in opposition to this bill.

While the provisions of the Sherwood pension bill were not as liberal and generous as those of the Sulloway bill which we passed in the preceding Congress, yet, taken as a whole, it is a very meritorious measure, and the gallant veterans of the great civil conflict, whose ranks are so rapidly thinning, have reason to thank Gen. SHERWOOD, Mr. SULLOWAY, Col. BRADLEY, Mr. RUSSELL, Mr. FULLER, and the other members of the Committee on Invalid Pensions for the splendid work that was done in their behalf.

In the platform adopted at Baltimore I find this plank:

> We renew the declaration of our last platform relating to a generous pension policy.

Prof. Wilson, the Democratic candidate for President, does not seem to be in harmony with this declaration. In a review of the administration of Grover Cleveland, whom he eulogizes to the point of idolatry, on page 180, volume 5, History of the American People, Prof. Wilson says:

> What most attracted the attention of the country, aside from his action in the matter of appointments to office, was the extraordinary number of his vetoes. Most of them were uttered against pension bills, great and small. Both Democratic House and Republican Senate were inclined to grant any man or class of men who had served in the Federal armies during the Civil War the right to be supported out of the National Treasury, and Mr. Cleveland set himself resolutely to check their extravagance. He deemed it enough that those who had been actually disabled should receive pensions from the Government and regarded additional gifts for mere service both an unjustifiable use of the public money and a gross abuse of charity.

In view of this remarkable statement, I would like to inquire how many Republicans and Democrats in this House who voted for the Sherwood service pension bill, or any other pension bill, did so on the theory that any man who had ever served in the Federal Army had an absolute right to be supported out of the National Treasury? I would like to inquire of the Democrats who supported this bill if they agree with Prof. Wilson that legislation of this kind is an "*unjustifiable use of the public money and a gross abuse of charity*"? The trouble seems to be that Prof. Wilson does not comprehend the true spirit and intent of our pension system. I maintain that the man who spent several of the best years of his young manhood in the service of his country is entitled to the everlasting gratitude of the Nation, whether he was actually disabled or not [applause on the Republican side], and that gratitude can only manifest itself in a practical way by granting him a pension in his declining days to compensate him for the loss that he sustained while at the full zenith of his power and capacity to earn a competency for himself and his family. [Renewed applause.]

No, no, my friends, a service pension is not "*an unjustifiable use of the public money.*" It is not "*a gross abuse of charity.*" It is founded on the eternal principles of right and justice. It is the expression of a Nation's love for the heroism of the men who were prepared to sacrifice their lives on the altar of patriotism that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people might not perish from the earth." [Applause on the Republican side.]

It is possible that Prof. Wilson has experienced a change of heart since he wrote those cold and heartless lines, for I recall that less than a year ago he himself applied to Andrew Carnegie for a pension, and based that claim not upon disability but upon "*mere service*" as an educator. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] I hope the fact that he did not succeed in getting the Carnegie pension will not embitter his soul, but that it will lead even him to recognize the injustice of his views as expressed on the question of service pensions.

WILSON VERSUS BRYAN.

Mr. Chairman, the dominating power in the Baltimore convention was William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska. In fact, William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, has been the dominating power in the Democratic Party so long that the memory of a "first voter" runneth not to the contrary. For 16 long and weary years he has been Democracy's Old Man of the Sea, gripping her with a strangle hold and choking her into abject submission to his every whim and caprice. In utter defiance of a precedent that has been as binding as law in every Democratic national convention for 60 years, in utter disregard of every consideration of elementary decency and fair play, he succeeded in robbing the distinguished Speaker of this House of the honor of a nomination for the high office of President of the United States after the Speaker had secured a majority of the votes on eight successive ballots [applause], and he succeeded in bestowing that honor upon a man who was not only not his friend but his pronounced and active enemy.

If it be true that Opportunity knocks but once at every man's door, then Champ Clark may never again have a chance to be

President of the United States, but CHAMP CLARK will live in the hearts and affections of his fellow men long after William Jennings Bryan shall have been forgotten. He will live, and his name will be honored because all the world knows that CHAMP CLARK has always been true to his friends, true to his ideals, true to his conception of duty, standing "four-square to all the winds that blow," in fair weather and in foul. [Applause.] And when the impartial historian of the future shall come to write of his base betrayal at Baltimore he will denounce the act of William Jennings Bryan as marking the very acme of perfidy, the culmination of political treachery. [Applause.]

I have said that Prof. Wilson was not the friend of William Jennings Bryan, and for a verification of that statement I refer to page 258, volume 5, Woodrow Wilson's History of the American People, and this is what he says about the man who was once democracy's "peerless" but who is now her "cheerless" leader:

> Mr. Bryan, though he had been a Member of Congress and had spoken in the House upon the coinage question, had made no place of leadership for himself hitherto, was unknown to the country at large and even to the great mass of his fellow partisans, and had come to the convention with the delegation from Nebraska unheralded, unremarked. A single speech made from the platform of the convention had won him the nomination, a speech wrought not of argument but of fire, and uttered in the full tones of a voice which rang clear and passionate in the authentic key of the assembly's own mood of vehemence and revolt. It was a thing for thoughtful men to note how a mere stroke of telling declamation might make an unknown, untested man the nominee of a great party for the highest office in the land, a popular assembly being the instrument of choice.

Mr. Wilson was not the friend of Mr. Bryan in 1896, and he was not his friend as late as April 29, 1907, when he wrote the following letter from Princeton:

> MY DEAR MR. JOLINE: Thank you very much for sending me your address at Parsons, Kans., before the board of directors of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railway Co. I have read it with relish and entire agreement. Would that we could do something, at once dignified and effective, to knock Mr. Bryan once for all into a cocked hat.

[Laughter from the Republican side.]

"*I have read it with relish and entire agreement!*" And in the Parsons speech Mr. Joline, the great trust and corporation lawyer, gives utterance to this sentiment:

> But I venture to utter what is perhaps a feeble protest against the blind and foolish outcry against all railways. You and I know who are responsible for this socialistic, populistic, antiproperty crusade. It is the cry of the envious against the well to do—the old story. It is not new to this generation, only it is louder and more bitter than ever before in this country.

This is what Woodrow Wilson read "*with relish and entire agreement.*" This was his honest opinion as late as 1907 of Bryan and Bryanism, and yet to-day, to gratify his ambitions, he is prepared to set aside the convictions of a lifetime, to don sackcloth and ashes and to eat out of the hand of the man whom he denounced as an untried declaimer, and who, because of his populistic and socialistic tendencies, he was anxious to "*knock into a cocked hat once for all.*" [Applause on the Republican side.] Oh, what a spectacle for gods and men! What an example for the youth of our land to emulate! How proud our Democratic friends should be of the sincerity, the consistency, and the moral courage of their candidate for President of the United States! [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Chairman, I shall not go much further into the record of this anti-Jefferson, antiforeign, antilabor, antisoldier, and pro-Chinese candidate for the Presidency. [Laughter and applause on the Republican side.] I shall not speak of his remarkable reversal of opinion as to the efficacy of the initiative, the referendum, and the recall. Suffice it to say that a few years ago he denounced this doctrine as revolutionary and as destructive of constitutional government. Yet to-day he loudly proclaims it as the one panacea for all the ills that afflict the body politic. I shall not speak of his sneering references to the Farmers' Alliance and of his characterization of the Knights of Labor as being tinctured with the hideous doctrine of anarchy. I believe that it was Job who said, "Oh, that mine adversary had written a book." I would say, "Oh, that the voters of this country would read the books written by mine adversary." For if Woodrow Wilson's "History of the American People" were made a campaign document and placed in the hands of every man who will exercise the sacred right of franchise on the 5th day of next November he would be buried beneath an avalanche of votes so deep that he would never hear the blast of Gabriel's trumpet on the morning of the resurrection. [Applause on the Republican side.]

Mr. Chairman, the Republican Party faces this contest with courage and with confidence. We know that we are right and we have an abiding faith in the triumph of any question of truth or justice submitted to the will of a free and an enlightened people. We have an abiding confidence in the discriminating sense of the American voter. We believe that he can distinguish between wheat and chaff, between a statesman and a demagogue, between evolution and revolution. [Applause on the Republican side.] The record of the administration of William Howard Taft will be fully vindicated. When the froth and foam and fury of misrepresentation shall have disappeared, when the billows of billingsgate shall have subsided, when the calm succeeds the storm, the sober-thinking people who are in a majority in this country will do full justice to this brave, fearless, and manly man who has never failed to do the right as "God has given him to see the right." [Applause on the Republican side.] They will elect William Howard Taft as his own successor because in him the American people recognize the dignity and the majesty of an honest man who has tried faithfully to uphold the best traditions of the Republican Party, the party of progress and protection, the party of a people's hope and of a Nation's desire, the party that believes in preserving in all its strength and purity and glory the Constitution of the fathers. "We stand at Armageddon and we battle for the Lord." [Loud and continued applause.]

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President Taft's Speech of Acceptance

and

Senator Root's Speech of Notification

AUGUST 1, 1912

May we not expect in the issues which are now before us that the ballots cast in November shall show a prevailing majority in favor of sound progress, great prosperity upon a protective basis, and under true constitutional and representative rule by the people? —*President Taft.*

You have been nominated because you stand for certain fixed and essential principles which the Republican Party maintains. * * * for progress which still preserves the good we already have and holds fast to those essential elements of American institutions which have made our country prosperous and great and free.—*Senator Root.*

Speech of Senator Root notifying President Taft of his Nomination for the Presidency.

Mr. President:

The Committee of Notification, here present, has the honor to advise you formally that on the twenty-second day of June, last, you were regularly and duly nominated by the National Convention of the Republican Party, to be the Republican candidate for President for the term beginning March 4th, 1913.

For the second time in the history of the Republican Party a part of the delegates have refused to be bound by the action of the Convention. Now, as on the former occasion, the irreconcilable minority declares its intention to support, either your Democratic opponent, or a third candidate. The reason assigned for this course is dissatisfaction with the decision of certain contests in the making up of the Temporary Roll of the Convention. Those contests were decided by the tribunal upon which the law that has governed the Republican Party for more than forty years imposed the duty of deciding such contests. So long as those decisions were made honestly and in good faith, all persons were bound to accept them as conclusive in the making up of the Temporary Roll of the Convention, and neither in the facts and arguments produced before the National Committee, the Committee on Credentials and the Convention itself, nor otherwise, does there appear just ground for impeaching the honesty and good faith of the Committee's decisions. Both the making up of the Temporary Roll, and the rights accorded to the persons upon that roll, whose seats were contested, were in accordance with the long-established and unquestioned rules of law governing the Party, and founded upon justice and common sense. Your title to the nomination is as clear and unimpeachable as the title of any candidate of any party since political conventions began.

Your selection has a broader basis than a mere expression of choice between different party leaders representing the same ideas. You have been nominated because you stand pre-eminently for certain fixed and essential principles which the Republican Party maintains. You believe in preserving the Constitutional Government of the United States. You believe in the rule of law rather than the rule of men. You realize that the only safety for nations, as for individuals, is to establish and abide by declared principles of action. You are in sympathy with the great practical rules of right-conduct that the American people have set up for their own guidance and self-restraint in the limitations of the Constitution—the limitations upon governmental and official power essential to the preservation of liberty and justice. You know that to sweep away these wise rules of self-restraint would be not progress but decadence. You know that the great declarations of principle in our Constitution cannot be made an effectual guide to conduct in any other way than by judicial judgment upon attempts to violate them; and you maintain the independence, dignity and authority of the Courts of the United States. You are for progress along all the lines of national development, but for progress which still preserves the good we already have and holds fast to those essential elements of American institutions which have made our country prosperous and great and free. You represent the spirit of kindly consideration by every American citizen toward all his fellows, respect for the right of adverse opinion, peaceable methods of settling differences—the spirit and the method which make ordered and peaceful self-government possible, as distinguished from intolerance and hatred and violence.

In respect of all these things our country is threatened from many sides. It is your high privilege to be the standard-bearer for the cause in which you believe; and in that cause of peace and justice and liberty the millions of your countrymen who believe as you do will stand with you, and the great Party which was born in the struggle for constitutional freedom will support you.

SPEECH OF

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

ACCEPTING THE NOMINATION FOR THE PRESIDENCY BY THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION

DELIVERED AT WASHINGTON, D. C.
AUGUST 1, 1912

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY 20

WASHINGTON
1912

SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

Mr. Root and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee:

I accept the nomination which you tender. I do so with profound gratitude to the Republican Party, which has thus honored me twice. I accept it as an approval of what I have done under its mandate, and as an expression of confidence that in a second administration I will serve the public well. The issue presented to the convention, over which your chairman presided with such a just and even hand, made a crisis in the party's life. A faction sought to force the party to violate a valuable and time-honored national tradition by entrusting the power of the presidency for more than two terms to one man, and that man, one whose recently avowed political views would have committed the party to radical proposals involving dangerous changes in our present constitutional form of representative government and our independent judiciary.

This occasion is appropriate for the expression of profound gratitude at the victory for the right which was won at Chicago. By that victory, the Republican Party was saved for future usefulness. It has been the party through which substantially all the progress and development in our country's history in the last fifty years has been finally effected. It carried the country through the war which saved the Union, and through the greenback and silver crazes to a sound gold basis, which saved the country's honor and credit. It fought the Spanish war and successfully solved the new problems of our island possessions. It met the incidental evils of the enormous trade expansion and extended combinations of capital from 1897 until now by a successful crusade against the attempt of concentrated wealth to control the country's politics and its trade. It enacted regulatory legislation to make the railroads the servants and not the masters of the people. It has enforced the anti-trust laws until those who were not content with anything but monopolistic control of various branches of industry are now acquiescent in any plan which shall give them scope for legitimate expansion and assure them immunity from reckless prosecution.

The Republican Party has been alive to the modern change in the view of the duty of government toward the people. Time was when the least government was thought the best, and the policy which left all to the individual, unmolested and unaided by government, was deemed the wisest. Now the duty of government by positive law to further equality of opportunity in respect of the weaker classes in their dealings with the stronger and more powerful is clearly recognized. It is in this direction that real progress toward the greater human happiness is being made. It has been suggested that under our Constitution, such tendency to so-called paternalism was impossible. Nothing is further from the fact. The power of the Federal Government to tax and expend for the general welfare has long been exercised, and the admiration one feels for our Constitution is increased when we perceive how readily that instrument lends itself to wider governmental functions in the promotion of the comfort of the people.

The list of legislative enactments for the uplifting of those of our people suffering a disadvantage in their social and economic relation enacted by the Republican Party in this and previous administrations is a long one, and shows the party sensitive to the needs of the people under the new view of governmental responsibility.

Thus there was the pure-food law and the meat-inspection law to hold those who dealt with the food of millions to a strict accountability for its healthful condition.

The frightful loss of life and limb to railway employees in times past has now been greatly reduced by statutes requiring safety appliances and proper inspection, of which two important ones were passed in this administration.

The dreadful mining disasters in which thousands of miners met their death have led to a Federal mining bureau and generous appropriations to further discovery of methods for reducing explosions and other dangers in mining.

The statistics as to infant mortality and as to the too early employment of children in factories have prompted the creation of a children's bureau, by which the whole public can be made aware of actual conditions in the States and the best methods of reforming them for the saving and betterment of the coming generation.

The passage of time has brought the burdens and helplessness of old age to many of those veterans of the Civil War who exposed their lives in the supreme struggle to save the Nation, and recognizing this, Congress has added to previous provision which patriotic gratitude had prompted, a substantial allowance, which may be properly characterized as an old men's pension.

By the white-slave act we have sought to save unfortunates from their own degradation, and have forbidden the use of interstate commerce in promoting vice.

In the making of the contract of employment between a railway employee and the company, the two do not stand on an equality, and the terms of the contract which the common law implied were unfair to the employee. Congress, in the exercise of its control over interstate commerce, has re-formed the contract to be implied and has made it more favorable to the employee. Indeed, a more radical bill, which I fully approve, has passed the Senate and is now pending in the House which requires interstate railways in effect to insure the lives of their employees and to make provision for prompt settlement of the amount due under the law after death or injury has occurred.

By the railroad legislation of this administration, shippers have been placed much nearer an equality with the railroads whose lines they use, than ever before. Rates can not be increased except after the Interstate Commerce Commission shall hold the increase reasonable. Orders against railways which under previous acts might be stayed by judicial injunction that involved a delay of two years can now be examined and finally passed on by the Commerce Court in about six months. Patrons of express, telegraph, and telephone companies may now secure reasonable rates by complaint to the commission.

Many millions are spent annually by the Agricultural Department to investigate the best methods of treating the soil and carrying on agriculture and to publish the results. We are now looking into the question of the best system for securing such credit for the farmer at reasonable rates as will enable him better to equip his farm and to follow the rules of good farming, which we must encourage. Our platform, I am glad to say, specifies this as a reform to which the party is pledged. The necessity for stimulating greater production of foodstuffs per acre becomes imperative as the vacant lands available for the extension of acreage are filling up and the supply of foodstuffs as compared with the demand is growing less each year.

Congress has sought to encourage the movement toward eight hours a day for all manual labor by the recent enactment of a new law on the subject more stringent in its provisions, regarding works on Government contracts.

One of the great defects in our present system of government is the delay and expense of litigation, which of course works against the poor litigant. The Supreme Court is now engaged in a revision of the equity rules to minimize delay and expense as to half our Federal litigation. The workmen's compensation act will relieve our courts of law of a very heavy part of the present dockets on the law side of the court and give the court more opportunity to speed the remaining causes. The last Congress codified the Federal court provisions, and we may look for, and should insist upon, a reform in the law procedure so as to promote dispatch of business and reduction in costs.

We have adopted in this administration, after very considerable opposition, the postal savings banks, which work directly in the promotion of thrift among the people. By reason of the payment of only 2 per cent. interest on deposits they do not compete with the savings banks. But they do attract those who fear banks and are unwilling to trust their funds except to a governmental agency. Experience, however, leads depositors to a knowledge of the importance of interest, and then seeking a higher rate they transfer their accounts to the savings banks. In this way the savings-bank deposits, instead of being reduced, are increased, and there is thus available a much larger fund for general investment.

For some years the administration has been recommending the parcels post, and now I am glad to say a measure will probably be adopted by Congress authorizing the Government to avail itself of the existing machinery of the Post Office Department to carry parcels at a reasonably low rate, so that the communication between the city and the country in ordinary merchandise will be proportionately as low-priced and as prompt as the newspaper and letter delivery through the post offices now. This must contribute greatly to reducing the cost and increasing the comfort of living.

We are considering the changing needs of the people in the disposition of our public lands and their conservation. As those lands owned by the Government and useful for agricultural purposes which remain are as a whole less desirable as homesteads than those which have been already settled, it has been properly thought wise to reduce the time for perfecting a homestead claim from five years to three, and this whether on land within the rain area or in those arid tracts within the reclamation districts.

Again, a bill has passed the Senate and is likely to pass the House which will not compel the settlers on reclamation lands to wait ten years and until full payment of what they owe the Government before they receive a title, but which gives a title after three years with a first Government lien.

On the other hand, the withdrawal of coal lands, phosphate lands, and oil lands and water-power sites is still maintained until Congress shall provide, on the principles of proper conservation. a system of disposition which will attract capital on the one hand and retain sufficient control by the Government on the other to prevent the evil of concentrating absolute ownership in a few persons of those sources for the production of necessities.

In the work of rousing the people to the danger that threatened our civilization from the abuses of concentrated wealth and the power it was likely to exercise, the public imagination was wrought upon and a reign of sensational journalism and unjust and unprincipled muckraking has followed, in which much injustice has been done to honest men. Demagogues have seized the opportunity further to inflame the public mind and have sought to turn the peculiar conditions to their advantage.

We are living in an age in which by exaggeration of the defects of our present condition, by false charges or responsibility for it against individuals and classes, by holding up to the feverish imagination of the less fortunate and the discontented the possibilities of a millennium, a condition of popular unrest has been produced. New parties are being formed, with the proposed purpose of satisfying this unrest by promising a panacea. In so far as inequality of condition can be lessened and equality of opportunity can be promoted by improvement of our educational system, the betterment of the laws to insure the quick administration of justice, and by the prevention of the acquisition of privilege without just compensation, in so far as the adoption of the legislation above recited and laws of a similar character may aid the less fortunate in their struggle with the hardships of life, all are in sympathy with a continued effort to remedy injustice and to aid the weak, and I venture to say that there is no national administration in which more real steps of such progress have been taken than in the present one. But in so far as the propaganda for the satisfaction of unrest involves the promise of a millennium, a condition in which the rich are to be made reasonably poor and the poor reasonably rich by law, we are chasing a phantom; we are holding out to those whose unrest we fear a prospect and a dream, a vision of the impossible.

In the ultimate analysis, I fear, the equal opportunity which is sought by many of those who proclaim the coming of so-called social justice involves a forced division of property, and that means socialism. In the abuses of the last two decades it is true that ill-gotten wealth has been concentrated in some undeserving hands, and if it were possible to redistribute it on any equitable principle to those from whom it was taken without adequate or proper compensation, it would be a good result to bring about. But this is obviously impossible and impracticable. All that can be done is to treat this as one incidental evil of a great expansive movement in the material progress of the world and to make sure that there will be no recurrence of such evil. In this regard we have made great progress and reform, as in respect to secret rebates in railways, the improper conferring of public franchises, and the immunity of monopolizing trusts and combinations. The misfortunes of ordinary business, the division of the estates of wealthy men at their death, the chances of speculation which undue good fortune seems often to stimulate, operating as causes through a generation, will do much to divide up such large fortunes. It is far better to await the diminution of this evil by natural causes than to attempt what would soon take on the aspect of confiscation or to abolish the principle and institution of private property and to change to socialism. Socialism involves the taking away of the motive for acquisition, saving, energy, and enterprise, and a futile attempt by committees to apportion the rewards due for productive labor. It means stagnation and retrogression. It destroys the mainspring of human action that has carried the world on and upward for 2,000 years.

I do not say that the two gentlemen who now lead, one the Democratic Party and the other the former Republicans who have left their party, in their attacks upon existing conditions, and in their attempt to satisfy the popular unrest by promises of remedies, are consciously embracing socialism. The truth is that they do not offer any definite legislation or policy by which the happy conditions they promise are to be brought about, but if their promises mean anything, they lead directly toward the appropriation of what belongs to one man, to another. The truth is, my friends, both those who have left the Republican Party under the inspiration of their present leader, and our old opponents, the Democrats, under their candidate, are going in a direction they do not definitely know, toward an end they can not definitely describe, with but one chief and clear object, and that is of acquiring power for their party by popular support through the promise of a change for the better. What they clamor for is a change. They ask for a change in Government so that the Government may be restored to the people, as if this had not been a people's Government since the beginning of the Constitution. I have the fullest sympathy with every reform in governmental and election machinery which shall facilitate the expression of the popular will as the short ballot and the reduction in the number of elective offices to make it possible. But these gentlemen propose to reform the Government, whose present defects, if any, are due to the failure of the people to devote as much time as is necessary to their political duties, by requiring a political activity by the people three times that which thus far the people have been willing to assume; and thus their remedies, instead of exciting the people to further interest and activity in the Government, will tire them into such an indifference as still further to remand control of public affairs to a minority.

But after we have changed all the governmental machinery so as to permit instantaneous expression of the people in constitutional amendments, in statutes, and in recall of public agents, what then? Votes are not bread, constitutional amendments are not work, referendums do not pay rent or furnish houses, recalls do not furnish clothing, initiatives do not supply employment or relieve inequalities of condition or of opportunity. We still ought to have set before us the definite plans to bring on complete equality of opportunity and to abolish hardship and evil for humanity. We listen for them in vain.

Instead of giving us the benefit of any specific remedies for the hardships and evils of society they point out, they follow their urgent appeals for closer association of the people in legislation by an attempt to cultivate the hostility of the people to the courts and to represent that they are in some form upholding injustice and are obstructing the popular will. Attempts are made to take away all those safeguards for maintaining the independence of the judiciary which are so carefully framed in our Constitution. These attempts find expression in the policy, on the one hand, of the recall of judges, a system under which a judge whose decision in one case may temporarily displease the electorate is to be deprived at once of his office by a popular vote, a pernicious system embodied in the Arizona constitution and which the Democrats of the House and Senate refused to condemn as the initial policy of a new State. The same spirit manifested itself in the vote by Democratic Senators on the proposition, first, to abolish the Commerce Court, and, second, to abolish judges by mere act of repeal, although under the Constitution their terms are for life, on no ground except that they did not like some of the court's recent decisions. Another form of hostility to the judiciary is shown in the grotesque proposition by the leader of former Republicans who have left their party, for a recall of decisions, so that a decision on a point of constitutional law, having been rendered by the highest court capable of rendering it, shall then be submitted to popular vote to determine whether it ought to be sustained. Again, the Democratic party in Congress and convention shows its desire to weaken the courts by forbidding the use of the writ of injunction to protect a lawful business against the destructive effect of a secondary boycott and by interposing a jury in contempt proceedings brought to enforce the court's order and decrees. These provisions are really class legislation designed to secure immunity for lawlessness in labor disputes on the part of the laborers, but operating much more widely to paralyze the arm of the court in cases which do not involve labor disputes at all. The hostility to the judiciary and the measures to take away its power and its independence constitute the chief definite policy that can be fairly attributed to that class of statesmen and reformers whose control the Republican Party escaped at Chicago and to whom the Democratic Party yielded at Baltimore.

The Republican Party stands for none of these innovations. It refuses to make changes simply for the purpose of making a change, and cultivating popular hope that in the change something beneficial, undefined, will take place. It does not believe that human nature has changed. It still believes it is possible in this world that the fruits of energy, courage, enterprise, attention to duty, hard work, thrift, providence, restraint of appetite and of passions will continue to have their reward under our present system, and that laziness, lack of attention, lack of industry, the yielding to appetite and passion, carelessness, dishonesty, and disloyalty will ultimately find their own punishment in the world here. We do not deny that there are exceptions, and that seeming fortune follows wickedness and misfortune virtue, but, on the whole, we are optimists and believe that the rule is the other way. We do not know any way to avoid human injustice but to perfect our laws for administering justice, to develop the morality of the individual, to give direct supervision and aid to those who are, or are likely to be, oppressed, and to give as full scope as possible to individual effort and its rewards. Wherever we can see that a statute which does not deprive any person or class of what is his is going to help many people, we are in favor of it. We favor the greatest good to the greatest number, but we do not believe that this can be accomplished by minimizing the rewards of individual effort, or by infringing or destroying the right of property, which, next to the right of liberty, has been and is the greatest civilizing institution in history. In other words, the Republican Party believes in progress along the lines upon which we have attained progress already. We do not believe that we can reach a millennium by a sudden change in all our existing institutions. We believe that we have made progress from the beginning until now, and that the progress is to continue into the far future; that it is reasonable progress that experience has shown to be really useful and helpful, and from which there is no reaction to something worse.

The Republican Party stands for the Constitution as it is, with such amendments adopted according to its provisions as new conditions thoroughly understood may require. We believe that it has stood the test of time, and that there have been disclosed really no serious defects in its operation.

It is said this is not an issue in the campaign. It seems to me it is the supreme issue. The Democratic Party and the former Republicans who have left their party are neither of them to be trusted on this subject, as I have shown. The Republican Party is the nucleus of that public opinion which favors constant progress and development along safe and sane lines and under the Constitution as we have had it for more than one hundred years, and which believes in the maintenance of an independent judiciary as the keystone of our liberties and the balance wheel by which the whole governmental machinery is kept within the original plan.

WHAT THE ADMINISTRATION HAS DONE.

The normal and logical question which ought to be asked and answered in determining whether an administration should be continued in power is, How has the Government been administered? Has it been economical and efficient? Has it aided or obstructed business prosperity? Has it made for progress in bettering the condition of the people and especially of the wage earner? Ought its general policies to approve themselves to the people?

During this administration we have given special attention to the machinery of government with a view to increasing its efficiency and reducing its cost. For 20 years there has been a continuous expansion in every direction of the governmental functions and a necessary increase in the civil and military servants by which these functions are performed. The expenditures of the Government have normally increased from year to year on an average of nearly 4 per cent. There never has been a systematic investigation and reorganization of this governmental structure with a view to eliminating duplications, to uniting bureaus where union is possible and more effective, and to making the whole organization more compact and its parts more closely coordinated. As a beginning, we examined closely the estimates. These, unless watched, grow from year to year under the natural tendency of the bureau chiefs. The first estimates which were presented to us we cut some $50,000,000, and this policy we have maintained through the administration and have prevented the normal annual increase in Government expenditures, so the result is that the deficit of $58,735,000, which we found on the 1st of July, 1909, was changed on the 1st of July, 1910, by increase of the revenues under the Payne law, including the corporation tax, to a surplus of $15,806,000; on July 1, 1911, to a surplus of $47,234,000, and on July 1, 1912, to a surplus of $36,336,000. The expenditures for 1909 were $662,324,000; for 1910, $659,705,000; for 1911, $654,138,000; and for 1912 $654,804,000. These figures of surplus and expenditure do not include any receipts or expenditures on account of the Panama Canal.

I secured an appropriation for the appointment of an Economy and Efficiency Commission, consisting of the ablest experts in the country, and they have been working for two years on the question of how the Government departments may be reorganized and what changes can be made with a view to giving it greater effectiveness for governmental purposes on the one hand and securing this at considerably less cost on the other. I have transmitted to Congress from time to time the recommendations of this commission, and while they can not all be adopted at one session, and while their recommendations have not been rounded and complete because of the necessity for taking greater time, I think that the Democratic Appropriation Committee of the House has become convinced that we are on the right road and that substantial reform may be effected through the adoption of most of the plans recommended by this commission.

PANAMA CANAL.

For the benefit of our own people and of the world we have carried on the work of the Panama Canal so that we can now look forward with confidence to its completion within 18 months. The work has been a remarkable one, and has involved the expenditure of $30,000,000 to $40,000,000 annually for a series of years, and yet it has been attended with no scandal, and with a development of such engineering and medical skill and ingenuity as to command the admiration of the world and to bring the highest credit to our Corps of Army Engineers and our Army Medical Corps.

FOREIGN RELATIONS.

In our foreign relations we have maintained peace everywhere and sought to promote its continuance and permanence.

We have renewed the Japanese treaty for 12 more years and have avoided certain difficulties that were supposed to be insuperable as between the two countries by an arrangement which satisfies both.

We negotiated certain broad treaties for the promotion of universal arbitration which, if they had been ratified, would have greatly contributed toward perfecting machinery for securing general peace. These the Democratic minority of the Senate not being willing to concur in, withheld the necessary two-thirds vote, and amended the treaties in such a way as to make it doubtful whether they are worth preserving.

In China we have exercised a beneficial influence as one of the powers interested in aiding that great country in its forward movement and in its efforts to establish and maintain popular government. In order that our influence might be useful we have acted with the other great powers and we have exercised our influence effectively toward the strengthening of the popular movement and giving the Republic governmental stability. We have lent our good offices in the negotiation of a loan essential to the continuance of the Republic and which we hope that China will accept under such conditions of supervision as are adequate to the security of the lenders and at the same time will be of great assistance to those in whose behalf the loan is made, the people of China.

Our Mexican neighbor on the south has been disturbed by two revolutions and these have necessarily brought a strain upon our relations because of the losses sustained by American citizens, both in property and in life, due to the lawlessness which could not be prevented under conditions of civil war. The pressure for intervention at times has been great, and grounds upon which, it is said, we might have intervened have been urged upon us, but this administration has been conscious that one hostile step in intervention and the passing of the border by one regiment of troops would mean war with Mexico, the expenditure of hundreds of millions of dollars, the loss of thousands of lives in the tranquilization of that country, with all the subsequent problems that would arise as to its disposition after we found ourselves in complete armed possession.

In order to avoid the plain consequences, it seemed the course of patriotism and of wisdom to subject ourselves and our citizens to some degree of suffering and inconvenience and to pass over with a strong protest and a claim for damages even those injuries inflicted on our peaceful citizens in our own territory along the border by flying bullets in engagements between the governmental and the revolutionary forces on the Mexican side. It is easy to arouse popular indignation over an instance of this character. It is easy to take advantage of it for the purpose of justifying aggressive action, and it is easy to cultivate political support and popularity by a warlike and truculent policy, but with the familiarity that we have had in the carrying on of such a war in the Philippines and in Cuba, no one with a sense of responsibility to the American people would involve them in the almost unending burden and thankless task of enforcing peace upon these 15,000,000 of people fighting among themselves, when they would necessarily all turn against us at the first manifestation of our purpose to intervene. I am very sure that the course of self-restraint that the administration has pursued in respect to Mexico will vindicate itself in the pages of history.

I am hopeful that the present Government is now rapidly subduing the insurrection and that we may look for tranquility near at hand. The demonstration of force which I felt compelled to make in the early part of the disturbance, by the mobilization of some 15,000 or 20,000 troops in Texas, and holding maneuvers there, had a good and direct effect and, as our ambassador and consuls report secured much increased respect for American and other foreign property in the disturbances that followed. Similar questions have arisen in Cuba, but we have been able to avoid intervention, and to aid and encourage that young Republic by suggestion and advice.

I am glad to believe that we have had more peace in the Central American Republics because of our attention to their needs and our activity in mediating between them than ever before in the history of those Republics.

THE NAVY.

The dignity and effectiveness of the Government of the United States, together with its responsibility for the protection of Hawaii, Porto Rico, Alaska, Panama, and the Philippines, as well as for the maintenance of the Monroe doctrine, require the maintenance of an Army and a Navy. We can not properly reduce either below its present effective size. The plan for the maintenance of the Navy in proportion to the growth of other navies of the world calls for the construction of two new battleships each year. The Republican Party has felt the responsibility and voted the ships. The Democratic Party, in House caucus, repudiates any obligation to meet this national need.

THE PHILIPPINES.

The Philippines have had popular government and much prosperity during this administration in view of the free trade which they have enjoyed under the Payne bill. The continuance of the same policy with respect to the Philippines will make the prosperity of those islands greater and greater and will gradually fit their people for self-government, and nothing will prevent such results except the ill-advised policy proposed by the Democratic Party of holding before the Philippine people independence as a prospect of the immediate future.

OUR FOREIGN TRADE.

During this administration everything that has been possible has been done to increase our foreign trade, and under the Payne bill the maximum and minimum clause furnished the opportunity for removing discriminations in that trade, so that the statistics show that our exports and imports reached for the year ending July 1, 1912, a higher figure than ever before in the history of the country. Our imports for the last fiscal year, ending July 1, 1912, amounted to $1,653,426,174 and our exports to $2,049,320,199, or a total of $3,857,648,262. If there were added to this the business done with Porto Rico, Hawaii, and the Philippines, the sum total of our foreign trade would considerably exceed $4,000,000,000. The excess of our exports over imports is $550,795,914. Manufactures exported during the year 1912 exceed $1,000,000,000 and surpass the previous record. These figures seem to show that the business is large enough to produce prosperity, and the fact is that it has done so.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF.

The platform of 1908 promised, on behalf of the Republican Party, to do certain things. One was that the tariff would be revised at an extra session. An extra session was called and the tariff was revised. The platform did not say in specific words that the revision would be generally downward, but I construed it to mean that. During the pendency of the bill and after it was passed, it was subjected to the most vicious misrepresentation. It was said to be a bill to increase the tariff rather than to reduce it. The law has been in force now since August, 1909, a period of about 35 months. We are able to judge from its operation how far the statement is true that it did reduce duties.

It has vindicated itself. Under its operation, prosperity has been gradually restored since the panic of 1907. There have been no disastrous failures and no disastrous strikes. The percentage of reduction below the Dingley bill is shown in the larger free list and in the lower percentage of the tariff collected on the total value of the goods imported. The figures show that under the Dingley bill, which was in force 144 months, the average per cent. of the imports that came in free was in value 44.3 per cent. of the total importations, and that under the Payne bill, which has been in force 35 months, the average per cent. in value of the imports which have come in free amounts to 51.2 per cent. of the total; that the average ad valorem of the duties on dutiable goods under the 12 years of the Dingley bill was 45.8 per cent., while under the 35 months of the Payne bill this was 41.2 per cent., and that the average ad valorem of duties on all the imports under the Dingley bill was 25.5 per cent., while under the Payne bill it was 20.1 per cent. In other words, considering only reductions on dutiable goods, the reduction in duties from the Dingley bill to the Payne bill was 10 per cent., and considering reductions on all imports, it amounted to 21 per cent.

Under the provisions of the Payne bill I was able to appoint a Tariff Board to make investigations into each schedule with a view to determining the cost of production here and the cost of production abroad of the articles named in the schedule, in order to enable Congress in adjusting this schedule to know what rate of duty was necessary to prevent a destructive competition from European countries and the closing up of our mills and other sources of production. We are living on an economic basis established on principles of protection. A large part of our products are dependent for existence upon a rate of duty sufficient to save the producer from foreign competition which would make the continuance of his business impossible. In the making of the Payne bill Congress did not have the advantage of the report of the Tariff Board showing the exact facts. If it had, the bill would have been constructed on a better basis, but we now have had the Tariff Board working and it has made a report on the production of wool and the manufacture of woolens in this country and in all the countries abroad, and has given similar data as to the manufacture of cotton. If the Republican Party had control of the House of Representatives, there would be no difficulty now in passing a woolen bill such as indeed as has been presented by the Republicans in Congres, reducing the duty on wool and on woolens to such a degree as not to include more than enough to enable the wool industry and the woolen industry to live and produce a reasonable profit. The same thing could be done with respect to the cotton industry. On the other hand, our opponents, the Democrats, presented to me for my signature a woolen bill and a cotton bill, both of which if allowed to become laws, as the reports of the Tariff Board show, would have made such a radical cut in the rates on many woolen and cotton manufactures as seriously to interfere with those industries in this country. This would have forced a transfer of the manufacture to England and Germany and other foreign countries.

THE RESULT OF DEMOCRATIC SUCCESS.

If the result of the election were to put the Democrats completely in control of all branches of the Government, then we should look for the reduction of duties upon all those articles the manufacture of which need protection, and may anticipate a serious injury to a large part of our manufacturing industry. We would not have to wait for actual legislation on this subject; the very prospect of Democratic success when its policy toward our great protected industries became understood, would postpone indefinitely the coming of prosperity and tend to give us a recurrence of the hard times that we had in the decade between 1890 and 1897. The Democratic platform declares protection to be unconstitutional, although it has been the motive and purpose of most tariff bills since 1789, and thus indicates as clearly as possible the intention to depart from a protective policy at once. It is true the Democratic platform says that the change to the policy of a revenue tariff is to be made in such a way as not to injure industry. This is utterly impossible when we are on a protective basis; and it is conclusively shown to be so by the necessary effect of bills already introduced and passed by the Democratic House for the purpose of making strides toward a revenue tariff. It is now more than 15 years since the people of this country have had an experience in such a change as that which the coming in of the Democratic Party would involve. It ought to be brought home to the people as clearly as possible that a change of economic policy, such as that which is deliberately proposed in the Democratic platform, would halt many of our manufacturing enterprises and throw many wage earners out of employment, would injure much the home markets which the farmers now enjoy for their products, and produce a condition of suffering among the people that no reforming legislation could neutralize or mitigate.

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING AND THE PAYNE LAW.

The statement has been widely circulated and has received considerable support from political opponents, that the tariff act of 1909 is a chief factor in creating the high cost of living. This is not true. A careful investigation will show that the phenomenon of increased prices and cost of living is world-wide in its extent and quite as much in evidence in other countries of advanced civilization and progressive tendencies as in our own. Bitter complaints of the burden of increased prices and cost of living have been made not only in this country, but even in countries of Asia and Africa. Disorder and even riots have occurred in several European cities because of the unprecedented cost of food products. In our own country, changes have been manifested without regard to lower or higher duties in the tariff act of 1909. Indeed, the most notable increase in prices has been in the case of products where no duties are imposed, and in some instances in which they were diminished or removed by the recent tariff act.

It is difficult to understand how any legislation or promise in a political platform can remedy this universal condition. I have recommended the creation of a commission to study this subject and to report upon all possible methods for alleviating the hardship of which the people complain, but great economic tendencies, notable among which are the practically universal movement from the country to the city and the increased supply of gold have been the most potent factors in causing high prices. These facts every careful student of the situation must admit.

EFFECT OF EXCESSIVE TARIFF RATES.

There is one respect in which high tariff rates may make for exorbitant prices. If the rate is higher than the difference between the cost of production here and abroad, then it tempts the manufacturers of this country to secure monopoly of the industry and to increase prices as far as the excessive tariff will permit. The danger may be avoided in two ways: First, by carefully adjusting the tariff on articles needing protection so that the manufacturer secures only enough protection to pay the scale of high wages which obtains and ought to obtain in this country and secure a reasonable profit from the business. This may be done by the continuance of the Tariff Board's investigation into the facts, which will enable Congress and the people to know what the tariff as to each schedule ought to be. The American public may rest assured that, should the Republican Party be restored to power in all legislative branches, all the schedules in the present tariff of which complaint is made will be subjected to investigation and report without delay by a competent and impartial Tariff Board and to the reduction or change which may be necessary to square the rates with the facts.

The other method of avoiding danger of excessive prices from excessive duties is to enforce the antitrust laws against those who combine to take advantage of the excessive tariff rates. This brings me to the discussion of the Sherman Act.

ANTITRUST LAW

The antitrust law was passed to provide against the organization and maintenance of combinations for the manufacture and sale of commodities, which through restraint of trade, either by contract and agreement or by various methods of unfair competition, should suppress competition, establish monopoly, and control prices. The measure has been on the statute book since 1890, and many times under construction by the courts, but not until the litigation against the Standard Oil Co. and against the American Tobacco Co. reached the Supreme Court did the statute receive an authoritative construction which is workable and intelligible.

It would aid the business public if specific acts of unfair trade which characterize the establishment of unlawful monopolies should be denounced as misdemeanors for the purpose, first, of making plainer to the public what must be avoided, and, second, for the purpose of punishing such acts by summary procedure without the necessity for the formidable array of witnesses and the lengthy trials essential to establish a general conspiracy under the present act. But there is great need for other constructive legislation of a helpful kind. Combination of capital in great enterprises should be encouraged, if within the law, for everyone must recognize that progress in modern business is by effective combination of the means of production to the point of greatest economy. It should be our purpose, therefore, to put large interstate business enterprises acting within the law on a basis of security by offering them a Federal corporation law under which they may voluntarily incorporate. Such an act is not an easy one to draw in detail, but its general outlines are clearly defined by the two objects of such a law. One is to secure for the public, through competent Government agency, such a close supervision and regulation of the business transactions of the corporation as to preclude a violation of the antitrust and other laws to which the business of the corporation must square, and the other is to furnish to business, thus incorporated and lawfully conducted, the protection and security which it must enjoy under such a Federal charter. With the faculties conferred by such a charter, corporations could do business in all the States without complying with conflicting exactions of State legislatures, and could be sure of uniform taxation, i. e., uniform with that imposed by the State on State corporations in the same business.

OPPOSED TO PROPOSED DRASTIC AMENDMENTS.

I am not in sympathy with the purpose to make the antitrust law more drastic by such a provision as is proposed by the Democratic majority of the investigating committee of the House, for imposing a rule as to burden of proof upon defendants under antitrust prosecutions different from that which defendants in other prosecutions enjoy. This can not be suggested by any difficulty found in proving to the courts the illegality of such combinations when the illegality exists. I challenge the production of a single record in any case in which an objectionable combination has escaped a decree against it because of any favorable rule as to the burden of proof. It is true that many defendants in criminal cases have escaped by a failure of the jury to convict, but that arises from the reluctance and refusal of jurors to find verdicts upon which men are likely to be sent to the penitentiary for pursuing a course in business competition which the ordinary man did not regard as immoral or criminal before the passage of the act.

CONSISTENT COURSE IN PROSECUTION OF THE LAW.

I think I may affirm without contradiction that the prosecution of all persons reported to the Department of Justice to have violated the antitrust law has been carried on in this administration without fear or favor, and that everyone who has violated it, no matter how prominent or how great his influence, has been brought before the bar of the court either in civil or criminal suit to answer the charge.

It is the custom of those who find it to their political interest to do so to sneer at, as innocuous, the decrees against the American Tobacco Company and against the Standard Oil Company, and the administration is condemned in the Democratic platform for consenting to a compromise in the Standard Oil case. There was no compromise. The Standard Oil decree was entered by the circuit court, and then by the Supreme Court, on the prayer of the Government contained in the original bill filed in a previous administration. The decree in the Tobacco case was reached after a full discussion and entered by the circuit court, consisting of four circuit judges, as a proper decree, and the Government refused to appeal from it because it did not feel that it had grounds upon which to base such an appeal. Both decrees are working well. Both decrees have introduced competition, the one into branches of the tobacco business and the other into branches of the oil business. They have not reintroduced ruinous competition, but they have affected certain prices in such a way as to show the presence of real competition. The division of the two trusts by the decrees into several companies was not expected to show immediate radical change in the business. It may take some years to show all the benefits of the dissolution, but the limitations of the decrees in those two cases are so specific as to make altogether impossible a resumption of the old combination against which the decrees were entered. Even if experience shall show the decrees to be inadequate, full opportunity in future litigation will be afforded to supply the defects.

The contest has been a long one. For years the rule laid down in the statute was ignored and laughed at, but the power of courts of justice pursuing quietly the law and enforcing it whenever opportunity arose has finally convinced the business public that the antitrust law means something, and that the policy of the administration in enforcing it means something. A number of these combinations illegally organized and maintained are now coming forward admitting their illegality and seeking a decree of dissolution, injunction, and settlement. They are quite prepared to square with that policy, provided it be definitely understood that it be impartially enforced and that security shall attend compliance with the law. My belief is that these decrees mark the beginning of a new era in industrial development; that what the great corporations of the country now desire is not what they manifestly did 20 years ago, to wit, to obtain a monopoly in each business, but it is to maintain a large enough plant to secure the greatest economy in production on the one hand and to avoid the danger of the threats of prosecution and disturbance of their business on the other. It will be the work of the highest statesmanship to secure these ends, and the Republican Party if given the power will accomplish it.

CONCLUSION.

I have thus outlined, Mr. Root and gentlemen, what I consider to be the chief issues of this campaign. There are others of importance, but time does not permit me to discuss them. In accordance with the usual custom I reserve the opportunity to supplement these remarks in a letter to be addressed to you at a later date when the alignments of the campaign may require further discussion.

For the present it is sufficient for me to say that it is greatly in the interest of the people to maintain the solidarity of the Republican Party for future usefulness and to continue it and its policies in control of the destinies of the Nation. I can not think that the American people, after the scrutiny and education of a three-months' campaign, during which they will be able to see through the fog of misrepresentation and demagoguery, will fail to recognize that the two great issues which are here presented to them are, first, whether we shall retain, on a sound and permanent basis, our popular constitutional representative form of government, with the independence of the judiciary as necessary to the preservation of those liberties that are the inheritance of centuries, and, second, whether we shall welcome prosperity which is just at our door by maintaining our present economic business basis and by the encouragement of business expansion and progress through legitimate use of capital.

I know that in this wide country there are many who call themselves Democrats, who view, with the same aversion that we Republicans do, the radical propositions of change in our form of Government that are recklessly advanced to satisfy what is supposed to be popular clamor. They are men who revere the Constitution and the institutions of their Government with all the love and respect that we could possibly have, men who deprecate disturbance in business conditions, and are yearning for that quiet from demagogic agitation which is essential to the enjoyment by the whole people of the great prosperity which the good crops and the present conditions ought to bring to us. To them I appeal, as to all Republicans, to join us in an earnest effort to avert the political and economic revolution and business paralysis which Republican defeat will bring about. Such misfortune will fall most heavily on the wage earner. May we not hope that he will see what his real interest is, will understand the shallowness of attacks upon existing institutions and deceitful promises of undefined benefit by undefined changes?

May we not hope that the great majority of voters will be able to distinguish between the substance of performance and the fustian of promise; that they may be able to see that those who would deliberately stir up discontent and create hostility toward those who are conducting legitimate business enterprises, and who represent the business progress of the country, are sowing dragons' teeth? Who are the people? They are not alone the unfortunate and the weak; they are the weak and the strong, the poor and the rich, and the many who are neither, the wage earner and the capitalist, the farmer and the professional man, the merchant and the manufacturer, the storekeeper and the clerk, the railroad manager and the employee—they all make up the people and they all contribute to the running of the Government, and they have not any of them given into the hands of anyone the mandate to speak for them as peculiarly the people's representatives. Especially does not he represent them who, assuming that the people are only the discontented, would stir them up against the remainder of those whose Government alike this is. In other campaigns before this, the American people have been confused and misled and diverted from the truth and from a clear perception of their welfare by specious appeals to their prejudices and their misunderstanding, but the clarifying effect of a campaign of education, the pricking of the bubbles of demagogic promise which the discussions of a campaign made possible, have brought the people to a clear perception of their own interests and to a rejection of the injurious nostrums that in the beginning of the campaign, it was then feared, they might embrace and adopt. So may we not expect in the issues which are now before us that the ballots cast in November shall show a prevailing majority in favor of sound progress, great prosperity upon a protective basis, and under true constitutional and representative rule by the people?

PEACE, PATRIOTIC

AND

RELIGIOUS ADDRESSES

BY

PRESIDENT TAFT

DELIVERED DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION

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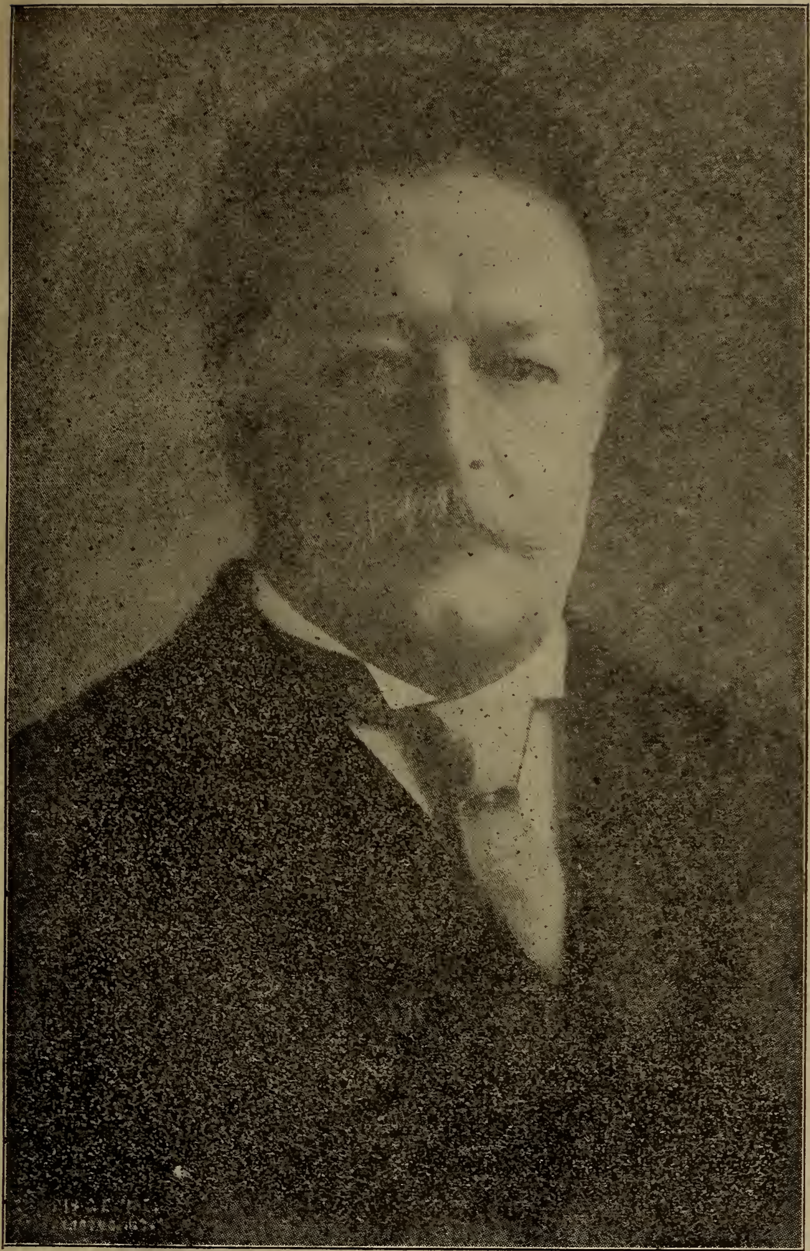

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT A BANQUET GIVEN IN HIS HONOR BY THE AMERICAN PEACE AND ARBITRATION LEAGUE IN THE BALLROOM OF THE HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY, MARCH 22, 1910.

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—In the first place, I should like to thank the American Peace and Arbitration League for the compliment of this beautiful banquet. I claim to be an expert in banquets. Therefore, when I say that this is a beautiful banquet and one of the finest that I have ever attended, I hope it may convey the superlative.

In the next place, I should like to say that the significance of this meeting is not in the fact that the President of the United States is here seeking peace by arbitration, but it is that such a doctrine has been advocated by a Kentuckian, former Senator McCreary.

I am glad to see about me here ambassadors of powerful countries and ministers representing the strength of Europe and of this hemisphere—all in favor of peace by arbitration. The truth is that the subject does not offer much opportunity for variety. We are all in favor of virtue; we are all in favor of goodness, and we are all in favor of peace; and as peace can be best maintained by arbitration and conciliation, of course we are in favor of it, even if we come from Kentucky —in favor of resorting to arbitration rather than to war. I say we all are, but I know there are some gentlemen who, in order to be unlike most others, favor war as a necessary treatment of a nation in order to develop its finest qualities, and I am not disposed to say that, as we look back in history, some of the most dreadful wars in history, notably that of our Civil War, could hardly have been avoided if we were to accomplish the good which that war did accomplish. But as a general thing we are all opposed to war, because war is hell. And when you have said that, and said that any means of avoiding it by arbitration or conciliation is to be sought, it seems to me that it is difficult to arouse a controversy on the subject. But my friend from Kentucky and I stand together in this—that because we are in favor of universal peace, and in favor of arbitration in order to secure it, that does not mean that we are in favor of one country giving up that which we now use for the purpose of securing peace, to wit, our Army and our Navy.

I don't want to seem inconsistent in speaking so emphatically in favor of peace by arbitration, and in using every effort that I can bring to bear on Congress to have two more battleships this year. I am hopeful that we may continue with that until the Panama Canal is constructed, so that then our naval force shall be doubled by reason of the connection between the two coasts; and then we can stop and think whether we wish to go further. Perhaps by that time there shall be adopted by general agreement a means of reducing armament. Certainly, whenever it comes, we will not be, I am sure, the power to interfere with that general movement.

I know, or I feel confident, that there are many executive heads who have longed for peace. The expense of armament is working toward peace. The expense of war, I am sorry to say, is having greater weight in securing peace than the expense of lives. A nation does not lightly enter upon war now for two reasons: First, because the expense is so great that it is likely to lead to bankruptcy even if she wins; and, second, if she does not win the government or dynasty or whatever it may be that is in control of the government is likely to go down under the humiliation of that defeat at the hands of her own people. Those two things are working in a healthful way toward ultimate peace.

Now, if we have a permanent court of arbitration—one to which we can easily refer all questions—the opportunity is likely to be seized upon—certainly to be seized upon by that country that is in the contest to follow, if war is to follow, not quite prepared; and so, by its demanding or proposing a reference to the court, it will put the other country in the attitude of desiring war—an attitude that I think no country would like under present conditions to occupy before the world. As a resort to this permanent court becomes more and more frequent, questions which can be submitted in the view of the nations will grow broader and broader in their scope.

I have noticed exceptions in our arbitration treaties, as to reference of questions of honor—of national honor—to courts of arbitration. Personally, I don't see any more reason why matters of national honor should not be referred to a court of arbitration any more than matters of property or matters of national proprietorship.

I know that is going further than most men are willing to go, but as among men we have to submit differences even if they involve honor, now, if we obey the law, to the court, or let them go undecided. It is true that our courts can enforce the law, and as between nations there is no court with a sheriff or a marshal that can enforce the law. But I do not see why questions of honor may not be submitted to a tribunal, supposed to be composed of men of honor who understand questions of national honor, to abide by their decision, as well as any other question of difference arising between nations.

Now, there is one question that I think is within the actual control of Congress, action upon which will promote the power of the Executive in preventing questions of embarrassment and difficulty between this country and other countries with whom we would be at peace. I am not sure how this will strike the Kentucky mind, because when we reach the Constitution and the division of power between the States and the United States, unless it involves an appropriation to the general welfare in the neighborhood of Kentucky, we on different sides of the Ohio River—because the Senator and I look at each other across the river—have different views.

But I believe that the Senator, with his profound knowledge of constitutional law, will nevertheless agree with me that it is within the power of Congress to put in the hands of the Executive and in the courts of the United States the power on the one hand to prosecute and on the other hand to hear crimes denounced by Federal law, which consist in a violation of the rights of aliens secured by treaties made by the United States with other countries. With all the solemnity that goes with the making of our treaties—signed by the President, confirmed by the Senate—we say to the people of other countries who come to this land: "You shall be protected in certain rights; you shall enjoy them under the protection of the United States." And then they come over here with that hope, with that security, and a conspiracy is entered upon by some of our people to deprive them of these rights, and crimes are committed against them, and their representative at Washington comes to the State Department and says: "Here are our citizens and our subjects who have come here under the protection of the treaty which you made, saying that they should enjoy all these rights, and they have been deprived by violence of these rights. Now we ask you to fulfill that promise to prosecute the men who have been engaged in this violation of the rights of the people we represent, as you promised to do."

And we say: "Well, we are very sorry. It is true we entered into that promise, and we intended to have it kept, and therefore we will write a note to the governor of the State and express the hope that his district attorneys will institute prosecutions before the grand juries of the State and see that justice is done."

When it usually occurs through prejudice existing in that very community where you expect to have justice done. Now I say that puts us in a pusillanimous position. I say that we have no business to enter into any international promise that we cannot use the right arm of the Federal Government to maintain and keep.

I dwelt upon this subject in my inaugural address, and I hope to press it again upon the attention of Congress; but I thought, in view of the fact that we are all agreed about arbitration and peace and the abolishment of war, if we can bring it about, that I would suggest one practical means by which you can clothe your Executive with a means of avoiding difficulty with foreign countries and with a means of avoiding putting your Chief Executive and yourselves in a humiliating position with reference to your pledged promise.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I have done. I did not expect to talk quite so long. I have been talking all the week, clear from Chicago here, and if what I have said seems to lack preparation, you may understand that you can not prepare every speech, however dignified and however attractive the audience.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE BANQUET OF THE AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE JUDICIAL SETTLEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES, AT THE NEW WILLARD, WASHINGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 17, 1910.

We hear a great deal nowadays of movements and societies and legislative resolutions in favor of international peace, and I assume that no one would wish to be put in the position of denying that peace contributes greatly to the happiness of mankind, or of advocating war as an institution to be fostered in and of itself. To say that one is in favor of peace is not much more startling than to say that one is in favor of honesty, in favor of virtue, in favor of good, and opposed to evil. That from which the world can derive the most benefit is a practical suggestion leading to more permanent peace. Many have thought that this could be brought about by an agreement among the powers to disarm, and some sort of a convention by which the race to bankruptcy in the maintenance of great armies and the construction of great navies might cease and a gradual disarmament follow. Future events may justify some different conclusion, but movements in the past along this line have not been fruitful of practical results. Bankruptcy and the burdensome weight of debt involved in continued armament may bring about a change in the present national tendencies. Meantime, however, I am strongly convinced that the best method of ultimately securing disarmament is the establishment of an international court and the development of a code of international equity which nations will recognize as affording a better method of settling international controversies than war. We must have some method of settling issues between nations, and if we do not have arbitration, we shall have war. Of course the awful results of war with its modern armaments and frightful cost of life and treasure, and its inevitable shaking of dynasties and governments, have made nations more chary of resort to the sword than ever before; and the present, therefore, because of this, would seem to be an excellent time for pressing the substitution of courts for force.

I am glad to come here and to give my voice in favor of the establishment of a permanent international court. I sincerely hope that the negotiations which Secretary Knox has initiated in favor of an international prize court—after the establishment of that court—will involve the enlargement of that court into a general arbitral court for international matters. It is quite likely that the provisions for the constitution of the arbitral court will have to be different somewhat from those that govern the selection of members of the prize court, but I am glad to think that the two movements are in the same direction and are both likely to be successful.

What teaches nations and peoples the possibility of permanent peace is the actual settlement of controversies by courts of arbitration. The settlement of the Alabama controversy by the Geneva arbitration, the settlement of the seals controversy by the Paris Tribunal, the settlement of the Newfoundland fisheries controversy by The Hague Tribunal are three great substantial steps toward permanent peace, three facts accomplished that have done more for the cause than anything else in history.

If now we can negotiate and put through a positive agreement with some great nation to abide the adjudication of an international arbitral court in every issue which can not be settled by negotiation, no matter what it involves, whether honor, territory, or money, we shall have made a long step forward by demonstrating that it is possible for two nations at least to establish as between them the same system of due process of law that exists between individuals under a government.

It seems to be the view of many that it is inconsistent for those of us who advocate any kind of preparation for war or any maintenance of armed force or fortification to raise our voices for peaceful means of settling international controversies. But I think this view is quite unjust and is not practical. We only recognize existing conditions and know that we have not reached a point where war is impossible or out of the question, and do not believe that the point has been reached in which all nations are so constituted that they may not at times violate their national obligations.

Take, thus, the question of the Panama Canal. We have a property which, when completed, will be worth $400,000,000—at least it will have cost us that. It has been built not alone to further the cause of the world's commerce, but also to bring our eastern and western seaboards closer together and to secure us the military benefit enabling our naval fleet to pass quickly from one ocean to the other. Now, the works of the canal are of such a character that a war vessel might easily put the canal out of commission. We are authorized to police the canal and protect it, and we have the treaty right to erect fortifications there. Fortifications are the best and most secure method of protecting that canal against the attack of some irresponsible nation or armed force. It is said that we could neutralize the canal and by inducing all nations to agree not to attack the canal secure its immunity from injury. But the trouble is that nations are quite as likely as men to violate their obligations under great stress like that of war. It seems to me that we ought to put ourselves in a position with reference to this very valuable and delicate piece of property so that, should any nation forget its obligation, we would be in a position to prevent unlawful injury to this instrument of commerce so valuable to the world and so indispensable to us. The fact that we fortify the canal will not prevent us from discharging all international obligations that we may have in respect to it, but it will enable us to defend ourselves in its possession against the act of every irresponsible force or nation. It will not prevent our maintaining its neutrality if that is wise and right.

I would like to invite attention to an interesting incident within the last month. Suppose a *Dreadnought* under the command of the men who have recently been in command of *Dreadnoughts* were to seek entrance to that canal by force. What we need is something to defend what is ours, and because we have the means of defending it is no reason why we should not neutralize the canal completely if that be wise.

Again, our strong feeling in favor of peace, it seems to me, ought not to prevent our taking the proper steps under existing conditions to maintain our national defenses. We have on the continent of the United States excellent coast defenses for every important harbor that an enemy could enter. We probably ought to see to it that we have ammunition and guns enough for ready use in case of emergency. We have a small but very efficient Army of 80,000 men. We have a militia of about 125,000 men. The Army is so constituted that we could enlarge it from a skeleton organization into a much larger body. We ought to have more trained officers, so as to furnish the teachers to a larger body of men that war might require us to enlist.

There has been a good deal of talk in the papers, and some reference in Congress, to the supposed helpless condition of this country in the event of a foreign invasion. I venture to think that much more has been made of this than the facts, calmly considered, would justify. We have a very good Navy, and with the opening of the Panama Canal it will be a much more effective one. It would be useful to prevent the coming of an invading army across the seas.

The people of this country will never consent to the maintenance of a standing army which military experts would pronounce sufficiently large to cope in battle with the standing armies of Europe, should they get by our Navy, avoid our harbor defenses, and descend upon our coast. If this leaves us in a position of helplessness, then so be it. For those who understand the popular will in this country know that it can not be otherwise. We shall do everything in the way of wise military preparation if we maintain our present Regular Army, if we continue to improve the national militia, if we pass the pending volunteer bill, to go into operation when war is declared and not to involve the Nation in a dollar's worth of expense until the emergency arises; if we pass a law, now pending in Congress, which will give us a force of additional officers trained in the military art, and able in times of peace to render efficient service in drilling the militia of the States, and in filling useful quasi-civil positions that are of the utmost advantage to the Government, and if we in a reasonable time accumulate guns and ammunition enough to equip and arm the force we could enlist under our colors in an emergency.

This discussion of needed military preparations does not sound very well at a peace meeting, but the trouble about a peace meeting is that it seems to be just one-half of the picture, and I want to introduce the whole picture in order that what is resolved here and what is said here may be understood to be said with a view to existing conditions and to the practical truth.

I have said this much in order to allay the so-called war scare which has furnished pabulum for the newspapers during the last few days. There is not the slightest reason for such a sensation. We are at peace with all the nations of the world, and are quite likely to remain so as far as we can see into the future. Just a little more forethought, a little more attention to the matter on the part of Congress, and we shall have all of the Army and all of the munitions and material of war that we ought to have in a Republic situated, as we are, 3,000 miles on one hand and 5,000 miles on the other from the source of possible invasion. Our Army is much more expensive per man than that of any other nation, and it is not an unmixed evil that it is so, because it necessarily restricts us to the maintenance of a force which is indispensable in the ordinary policing of this country and our dependencies, and furnishes an additional reason for our using every endeavor to maintain peace.

I congratulate this association on the recent foundation of Mr. Carnegie, by which, under the wise guidance of Mr. Elihu Root, Mr. Knox, and their associates, an income of half a million of dollars annually is to be expended in the practical promotion of movements to secure permanent peace. The wise discretion given to the trustees, and their known ability, foresight, and common sense, insures the usefulness of the gift.

War has not disappeared and history will not be free from it for years to come, but the worst pessimist can not be blind to the fact that in the last 25 years long steps have been taken in the direction of the peaceful settlement of international controversies, and the establishment of a general arbitral court for all nations is no longer the figment of the brain of a dreamy enthusiast.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE DINNER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY, HOTEL ASTOR, NEW YORK CITY, JANUARY 21, 1911.

Gentlemen of the Pennsylvania Society:—I am glad to be here and am glad to know that so much of the energy, the enterprise, and the intelligence of New York has been contributed by the sons of William Penn. William Penn was in favor of peace. So, too, are the men of Pennsylvania. But I assume that they are practical men who do not lose sight of facts and existing conditions in an ecstacy of hope and Utopian enthusiasm.

I am going to invite your attention to the question now pending in Congress as to whether the Panama Canal ought to be fortified. I can not think that any careful person will read the record of historical facts, treaties, and acts of Congress, and diplomatic negotiations without conceding the full right of the United States to fortify the canal. But memories are short, records are not always at hand, and without in the slightest degree conceding that the existence of the full right of the United States to fortify her own property on the Isthmus is in the slightest doubt, I venture, before considering the question of the policy of fortifying the canal, to refer to the history which makes the right incontestable.

In 1850 we made the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with England, which contemplated a canal built by somebody other than the contracting parties and probably by private enterprise across Central America or the Isthmus of Panama. By that treaty we agreed with England that we would neither of us own any part of the land in which the canal was to be built, and we would neither of us fortify it, and we would unite together in guaranteeing its neutrality and would invite the rest of the nations to become parties to the agreement. The canal was not built under that treaty. The French attempted it and failed. We had a Spanish war. The cruise of the *Oregon* of 12,000 miles along the seacoast of two continents, from San Francisco to Cuba, at a time when the seat of war was in the West Indies fastened the attention of the American people upon the absolute necessity for a canal as a military instrument for doubling the efficiency of our Navy and for preventing a division of our forces of defense which might in the future subject us to humiliating defeat. This lesson brought about the effort to modify the Clayton-Bulwer treaty for the very purpose of securing the right on the part of the United States to own the land through which the canal was to be built, to construct the canal itself, and to regain the power to fortify the canal, which it had parted with in the treaty of 1850 under other conditions. The correspondence between Lord Lansdowne and Mr. Hay, as well as Mr. Hay's statement to the Senate in transmitting the treaty which was finally ratified, show beyond peradventure that it was recognized by both parties to that treaty, first, that the canal to be built should be one to be built by the United States, to be owned by the United States, to be managed by the United States, and that the neutrality of the canal which was to be maintained, was to be maintained by the United States; second, that nothing in the treaty would prevent the United States from fortifying the canal, and that in case of war between the United States and England or any other country nothing in the treaty would prevent the United States from closing the canal to the shipping of an enemy. In the absence of treaty restriction, of course, these rights inhere in the sovereignty of the United States and the control of its own. It is perfectly palpable that this was insisted upon by the Senate, for the reason that one of the main motives in the construction of the canal was the extension of the coast line of the United States through the canal and the use of the canal in time of war as an instrument of defense. The guaranty of neutrality in the treaty is subject, and necessarily subject, to this construction.

The purpose and assertion of the right of the people of the United States to fortify the canal are shown again in the passage of the Spooner Act in 1902, directing the President to build the canal and to make proper defenses. The treaty with Panama reaffirms the treaty with England, made in 1900, and expressly gives to the United States the power of fortification. How, then, can anyone dispute the right of the United States to fortify the canal, when the English treaty was amended for the very purpose of regaining it, when it is expressly given in the treaty made with Panama that granted us the land on which to build the canal, and when not a single foreign nation—including in this England, who has made a treaty with us on the subject—has ever seen fit to suggest a lack of power to do that which an act of Congress nine years old directed the President to do, and on the faith of which $500,000,000 are being expended?

The right of the United States to fortify the canal and to close it against the use of an enemy in time of war being established, what should be its policy? We built the canal to help us defend the country; not to help an enemy to attack it. Even if a certain and practical neutralization of the canal by an agreement of all nations could be secured to us when engaged in war, an enemy could then use the canal for transit to attack us in both oceans as we propose to use it to defend ourselves. After expending $500,000,000 thus to make our national defense easier, are we to surrender half the military value of the canal by giving the benefit of it to a nation seeking to destroy us? It seems to me that the very statement of the proposition carries its refutation.

But it is said that we ought to defend the canal by our Navy. I am not a strategist; I am not a military or a naval expert; but it seems to me as plain as that one and one are two that a navy is for the purpose of defense through offense, for the purpose of protection by attack, and that if we have to retain a part of our Navy in order to defend the canal on both sides, then the canal becomes a burden and not an instrument of defense at all. The canal ought to defend itself, and we ought to have fortifications there which will be powerful enough to keep off the navies of any nation that might possibly attack us. I am glad to see that Capt. Mahan, one of the greatest naval strategists, in a communication to this morning's Tribune, confirms this view.

Again, under our treaty with England and other countries, it is we who guarantee the neutrality of the canal. It is not the other countries that guarantee it to us, and we are bound, if we conform to the treaty with England, to put ourselves in such a condition that we can perform that guaranty. Suppose England is at war with some other country that is not bound to us by treaty rights at all; is not it essential that we should have fortifications there to protect the canal, not only for our own use and for the world's commerce, but for the use of England and her warships as a means of passage? In other words, we have to preserve that canal as a means of transit to belligerents in time of war as long as we are ourselves not engaged in the controversy.

But it is said that we could induce all the powers to come in and consent to the neutrality of the canal as a treaty obligation. I should be glad to do this if possible; but even if we do this, can we feel entirely safe by reason of that agreement from a possible injury to the canal by some irresponsible belligerent, at least under conditions as they now are?

Then it is said that the fortifications are going to cost $50,000,000. This is an error. The estimated cost of the fortifications for the canal is $12,000,000. That, I submit, constitutes hardly more than two per cent. of the cost of the canal—a first premium for insuring its safety that is not excessive.

It is also said that it will cost $5,000,000 a year to maintain them. This is also an error. I have consulted the War Department, and they advise me that the addition to the annual Government cost of maintenance of fortifications and military establishment in time of peace due to the fortifications of the canal would not exceed half a million dollars—an annual insurance rate after first cost of a tenth of one per cent.

The case of the Suez Canal furnishes no analogy whatever. In the first place, the Suez Canal is nothing but a ditch in a desert, incapable of destruction, and even when obstructed it can be cleared within a very short time. The Panama Canal, by the destruction of the gate locks, could be put out of commission for two years, and the whole commerce of the world made to suffer therefrom.

Again, the land through which the Suez Canal runs is not in the jurisdiction of England or of any one of the five great powers. Many nations partake in the ownership of the canal, and it is not within the control of any single nation. The circumstances under which the Panama Canal has been building, the ownership of the strip, and one of the main purposes for which it was constructed are very different and make it exactly as if it were a canal cut through the narrow part of Florida. It is on American soil and under American control, and it needs our fortifications for national defense just as much as the City of New York needs fortifications, and there is the additional reason that we ought to have them in order to perform our international obligations.

I yield to no one in my love of peace, in my hatred of war, and in my earnest desire to avoid war. I believe that we have made great strides toward peace within the last decade. No one that I know of goes further in favor of settling international controversies by arbitration than I do, and if I have my way and am able to secure the assent of other powers, I shall submit to the Senate arbitration treaties broader in their terms than any that body has heretofore ratified, and broader than any that now exist between the nations. In laying down my office, I could leave no greater claim to the gratitude of my countrymen than to have secured such treaties. But I can not permit myself in the enthusiastic desire to secure universal peace to blind myself to the possibilities of war. We have not reached the time when we can count on the settlement of all international controversies by the arbitrament of a tribunal.

I welcome most highly the rapidly increasing ranks of the advocates of peace. They help to form a public opinion of the world that is, with appreciable progress, forcing nations to a settlement of quarrels by negotiation or peace tribunal. When adjudication by arbitral court shall be accepted, the motive for armament will disappear. But we can not hope to bring about such a condition for decades. Meantime, we must face the facts and see the conditions as they are. Some earnest advocates of peace weaken their advocacy by failing to do this. War is still a possibility; and a President, a Senator, a Congressman, who ignores it, as something against which proper precautions should be taken, subjects himself in time of peace to the just criticism of all reasonable men, and when war comes and finds the nation unprepared, to the unanimous condemnation of his indignant fellow-countrymen.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT BEFORE THE THIRD NATIONAL PEACE CONFERENCE, AT THE LYRIC THEATER, BALTIMORE, MD., MAY 3, 1911.

Mr. Chairman and Ladies and Gentlemen:—It expresses my feelings when I say that I am frightened by the introduction of the chairman. I have been told before that I exercise in the presidential office greater power than any man on earth, and I have been able to take that idea in and know how much of it is real fact and how much of it is eloquence turning a good period. It is possible that the President does exercise greater power than that of any other ruler in the world, but I am able to give you a little information from the standpoint of one with some opportunity to observe, and I am bound to say that the burden and responsibility of the position are brought home to him much more clearly than the power.

Your chairman has been good enough to refer to what I have said with reference to general arbitration, and to my expressed opinion that an arbitration treaty of the widest scope between two great nations would be a very important step in securing the peace of the world. I don't claim any patent for a new discovery in that suggestion, because I have no doubt that it has often been made before and has long been shared by all who understand the situation at all. If such an arbitration treaty can be concluded I have no doubt that an important step will have been taken, but it will not bring an end of war. It is a step only, and we must not defeat our purposes by enlarging the expectation of the world as to what is to happen and by then disappointing it. We must realize that we are dealing with a world that is fallible and full of weakness, with somewhat of wickedness in it, and that reforms that are worth having are brought about little by little, and not by one blow. I don't mean to say by this that I am not greatly interested and enthusiastic in seeking to secure the arbitration treaty or treaties that are suggested, but I do think we are likely to make more progress if we express our hopes with moderation and realize the difficulties that are to be overcome than if we proclaim that we have opened the gate of eternal peace with one key within one year.

I am not going to dwell upon the question of the arbitration treaty which is in the process of negotiation. The truth is, I would much rather stand upon the platform and refer to such a step when taken, to such a treaty when made and acquiesced in, than to discuss it during its negotiation; and therefore I would wish to direct the few remarks I address to you this afternoon to other but kindred subjects.

I have recently received a great many invitations from various associations whose titles indicated that their purpose was the promotion of peace, and it has seemed to me that in their closer co-operation we might find some opportunity for an improvement in the movement and give greater force to the cause by organized expression. You have a congress here, and in this congress I assume that a good many associations take part. Have you any basis of organization and union which unites your efforts in anything but this congress? Don't you think you had better bind your peace associations together in a federation and make your efforts united toward the one object you have in view? Aren't you likely to squander a little of your force if you maintain isolated associations without union?

My second suggestion is that one of the evidences of an improvement in the world for peace is the fact that all state departments, all foreign chancelleries, are themselves now organized into agencies for the promotion of peace by negotiation. The State Department at Washington has no more important or absorbing duty than to lend its good offices to the 20 Republics of this hemisphere to prevent their various differences from leading into war. And not to go back of this administration, there have been four instances in which the action of our State Department, taken in connection with some of the influential countries of South America, has absolutely prevented war. which 20 or 30 years ago would certainly have ensued.

The recurrence of war is not now so frequent between stable and powerful governments maintaining law and order within their respective borders as it is in those governments which do not exercise complete control over their people, and in which revolutions and insurrections break out, not only to the injury and danger of the people and their property and of the government itself, but to the disturbance of all the world in their neighborhood. It is with reference to disturbances of this kind that the United States and the other great Republics of this hemisphere must exercise their kindly and peaceful influence as much as possible.

One of the difficulties that the United States finds is the natural suspicion that the countries engaged have of the motive which the United States has in tendering its good offices. Asseveration of good faith helps but little where the suspicion is real, and yet I like to avail myself of an opportunity in such a presence as this, to assert that there is not in the whole length and breadth of the United States, among its people, any desire for territorial aggrandizement, and that its people as a whole will not permit its Government, if it would, to take any steps in respect to foreign peoples looking to a forcible extension of our political power.

We have had wars, and we know what they are. We know what responsibilities they entail, the burdens and losses and horrors, and we would have none of them. We have a magnificent domain of our own in which we are attempting to work out and show to the world success in popular government, and we need no more territory in which to show that. But we have attained great prosperity and great power. We have become a powerful member of the community of nations in which we live, and there is therefore thrust upon us necessarily a care and responsibility for the peace of the world in our neighborhood and a burden of helping those nations that cannot help themselves, if we may do that peacefully and effectively.

Now, we have undertaken such a duty in respect to Santo Domingo. She was torn with contending factions. Foreign governments held her bonds and desired to collect what was due. We entered into an arrangement by which we put in our revenue officers to collect the revenues. We took charge of the customhouse, and that mere agency gave us an instrumentality by which we have enabled that nation to go on, until she is rapidly paying off her debts and becoming powerful and prosperous. While our revenue collectors have been there she has had no faction or revolution. I may add that our position with respect to Santo Domingo enabled us to intervene when she and Haiti thought it was necessary to fight about something and to induce those two nations to submit their differences to The Hague.

And now, my friends, I shall not continue these desultory remarks. I only want to say that I am glad to come here to this world's congress of peace, and, in so far as I have any representative character, by my presence here, to lend to it the support and approval of the people of the United States.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT ARLINGTON CEMETERY, ON MEMORIAL DAY, MAY 30, 1911.

As we gather in this assembly, with all the thoughts that its surroundings suggest, the question presents itself, "What is the purpose of these commemorative services?" It is said that we are here to pay tribute to our patriotic dead—to those who yielded up their lives that our country might be saved. But does our coming here and do our ceremonies and hymns and eloquent tributes make the dead happier? If from somewhere their souls contemplate this scene, are they gratified merely because we praise them? Is it not rather that they can see that the influence of their deeds lives after them in the uplifting and revitalizing of the highest ideals of the living? These ceremonies are not for the benefit of the dead. They are to keep green the memory of their deeds and thereby to stir in the living members of society—in the citizens of to-day—the spirit of high appreciation and enthusiastic emulation of those supreme sacrifices for their fellow-countrymen that the sight of these graves of the dead makes alive to us.

Love of country, love of family, love of God—it is difficult to classify these affections of the human heart and soul, for they so melt into each other that the one who has most of one has most of all.

As we stand, however, in the presence of the dead on this beautiful May morning and seek to realize and enjoy the essence of patriotism which, like incense, steals into the atmosphere of this sacred spot, we find ourselves slipping into a conception of war as necessary to human development, the making of human character, and the exhibition of the highest human ideals. We lost sight of the cruelty, the courage, the arousing of the most brutal human passion, the indifference to human suffering, the meanest human ambitions, the ghoulish corruption, and all the other wickedness that follows in the trail of war, and we think only of the calm spirit of supreme self-sacrifice that ennobled the brave soldier who lost his life in the shock of battle and who rests peacefully with his comrades in these beautiful shades.

Of course, it is necessary that we should have sin and temptation if we would have exhibitions of virtue which resist them; but is that a reason for favoring either temptation or sin? Of course, in order that we should know the existence and power of the highest traits of the human soul, we must have human tragedies, but certainly no one would promote a tragedy for the purpose of furnishing to the world proof of the existence of such traits. Strive as we may to prevent or destroy them, we shall have sin and wickedness and temptation and tragedy enough as a school of experience, development and demonstration of human character. The same answer must be made to those who permit themselves to advocate war as a necessary experience in the development of man.

There was a time when an insult by one man to another in the same social class could only be wiped out by the blood of the other in a mortal duel, and in those days it took more moral courage to avoid a duel than to fight one. We have made great progress, almost within our own memory, in such ideals. If that be true of men, why may it not be true in the near future of nations? Why will it not show more patriotism and more love of country to refuse to go to war for an insult and to submit it to the arbitrament of a peaceful tribunal, than to subject a whole people to the misery and cruelty and suffering and burden of heavy cost of a national war, however glossed over by the excitement and ambitions and the glory of a successful conquest?

The lesson in national restraint, the looking at things as they are, the rejecting of the dictates of false pride, and the following of the teachings of the Master of men are not at all inconsistent with, and do not detract from, the continuance of the highest love of country and of one's countrymen.

Far be it from me to minimize in any way by these suggestions the debt we owe to the men buried here who carried on the successful struggle that resulted in the abolition of the cancer of slavery and which seemed ineradicable save by an awful slaughter of the brightest and bravest and best of the Nation's youth and manhood.

I shall not stop to discuss whether it might have been possible to accomplish the same great reform by milder methods. Whether that be true or not, the supreme sacrifice of these men, who lie about us, in the course of advancing humanity can never be lessened or obscured by such a suggestion. But the thought at which I would but hint this morning is that even in the hallowed presence of these dead, whose ideals of patriotism and love of their countrymen it needed a war to make everlastingly evident, we should abate no effort and should strain every nerve and avail ourselves of every honorable possible device to avoid war in the future.

I am not blind to the aid in creating sturdy manhood that the military discipline we see in the standing armies of Europe and in the Regular Army of this country furnishes, nor do I deny the incidental benefits that may grow out of the exigencies and sequelæ of war. But when the books are balanced the awful horrors of either internecine or international strife far outweigh the benefits that may be traced to it.

Let us leave this beautiful city of the national dead, therefore, with the deepest gratitude to the men whose valorous deeds we celebrate and whose memories we cherish with the tenderest appreciation of the value of the examples they set, but with a determination in every way possible, consistent with honesty and manly and national self-restraint, to avoid the necessity for the display of that supreme self-sacrifice that we commemorate to-day in them.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE MARION (IND.) BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL HOME FOR DISABLED VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS, JULY 2, 1911.

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL VOLUNTEER SOLDIERS' HOME OF MARION:—Such an audience as this, on the eve of the natal day of the Nation, stirs the depths of one's patriotic feeling. Harbors of refuge and havens of rest for those who in the stormy passages of their lives bared their breasts, in behalf of their country, to hostile bullets, serve two high purposes: In the first place, they contribute to the payment of their country's everlasting debt to its defenders; and, in the second place, they make known to all citizens the care which they may expect from a grateful Nation should they in a similar crisis offer their lives to save the Government. Better than monuments of brass to the dead are the comforts to the living in their old age, as an evidence of the country's love and veneration for patriotic self-sacrifice. Much more stimulating to the young is the contemplation of the Nation's heroes living in retirement, but in comfort, at its expense, and bringing back in their grizzled faces, in their armless sleeves, in their limbless bodies, the dangers they ran and the deeds they did. Of course such a presence can not but by reminiscence suggest the subject of war, for it was in the greatest war of modern times that the members of this home earned their right to be here. But war suggests its counterpart. It is those who have seen the horrors of war, who have felt its hardships, and have realized its cruelties, and seen the awful passions it could arouse, who have witnessed the suffering and brutality, as well as the courage and self-sacrifice, that know its evils, and that feel most deeply the necessity for avoiding it when possible.

No man loved peace more than Grant and Sherman. Neither general hesitated, in time of war, to accomplish the national purpose, to sacrifice the lives that were necessary to achieve victory. Their greatness, however, consisted in recognizing the necessity for action and in seeing clearly that if victories were to be won lives must be given up, and that any attempts to temporize with the occasion and mitigate the awful horrors would only lengthen the war and postpone the coming of peace, with all the suffering that such postponement necessarily entailed. No men were really more tender-hearted than they; and after the war none were more emphatic in their advocacy of peace and in their detestation of war. It is certain that Grant in his travels in Europe took less interest in the memorials of Napoleon, the greatest soldier of the world, than in a study of social conditions and a comparison of the peoples of the countries that he visited with those of his own. He had no patience with a military genius who sacrificed countries and peoples to his ambition, and whose whole history is nothing but a trail of bloody conquest following the lust of power and ultimate defeat, in all of which the people of France and of Europe were made to pay the cost and render the sacrifices.

I am far from saying that war has not in times past accomplished much in the progress of the world. Whether the same progress might have been achieved in a more peaceful way it is unnecessary to discuss. Probably not. It was by war that this country gained its independence of Great Britain. One hundred and thirty-five years ago the Declaration of Independence was signed, which changed a protest under arms against unjust government to a successful revolution. If England had been better advised, probably war would not have ensued, and we might now be, as in the case of Canada, cherishing attachment to the mother country without exercising complete independence. Certain it is that the lesson which we taught England she took to her heart, and in her colonial policy she continued to lighten the bonds which she had laid upon her colonies, until now they have no weight, and are merely nerves of affection from a mother to children, evincing an authority that, however great in form, is in fact, in the wisdom of the mother country, one of only nominal restriction. When, therefore, our forefathers signed that great instrument of independence, they were acting not only on behalf of the Thirteen Colonies of America, but they were building better than they knew in that the result of their protest was to be a change of the entire colonial policy of Great Britain in the making of her English-speaking colonies that girdled the earth self-governing and independent; and this result was achieved, not by war with the colonies, but by the persuasiveness of the error that she had made in dealing with us.

The War of 1812 might certainly have been avoided by arbitration. The questions there presented were questions all of which have been settled by the judgment of mankind in favor of our side of the controversy.

The War with Mexico—though there is some dispute over this—was one the questions of which were capable of solution by an impartial tribunal. Whether the Civil War could have been avoided is a very difficult question to answer. When slavery has become embedded in the social fiber of a country it is possible that only an excision of a war knife can remove the cancer.

Nor shall I attempt to answer a similar question as to the Spanish War. It is one of those instances of internal discussion like the Civil War; and yet I believe that the submission of the issues to a tribunal might have affected Spain's treatment of Cuba in such a way that we could have avoided a resort to arms. The truth is the danger of war between two great well-established countries with modern armaments is much less than that kind of war that arises from bad government or from the ambition of sinister men in a weak government, who overturn it. The awful consequences to two heavily armed countries under modern conditions of war have been a great deterrent of war; but the irresponsibility of men claiming to be patriots and desiring to overturn existing governments where law and order are not well established has led to a great deal of guerilla warfare and to the suffering of innocent people, who find no real principle involved in the two contending parties except that of ambition for power.

Much of this kind of work has occurred in South America and in Central America; and in that degree of guardianship which the United States must feel over the Republics of this hemisphere, in maintaining their integrity against European invasion, we ought to welcome every opportunity which gives us a legitimate instrument by which we can make less probable such internecine strife. In the assertion of that sort of guardianship we have to be very careful to avoid the charge, which is always made by the suspicious, that we are seeking our own aggrandizement in our interference with the affairs of other countries of this hemisphere. It is an unfounded charge, for we envy no power its territory. We have enough. But we have been able to fend off war in five or more instances of recent date, because of our attitude as an elder brother of these smaller governments. Thus, in Cuba, after the Platt amendment, we were able to intervene and prevent a bloody war of revolution, and this after 20,000 rebels against the constituted Government were in arms immediately outside the city of Havana, ready to take part. We were able, by reason of the agreement we made with Santo Domingo, to help her collect her revenue and liquidate and satisfy her legitimate debts, by putting our agents in charge of the customhouses, to take away the chief motive for a rebellion and the chief hope of success of a revolution, which is the acquisition of the customhouse in order to collect taxes. And, by reason of our intervention between Haiti and Santo Domingo, we have been able to prevent a war between those two countries, growing out of a dispute over a boundary line, which is now in course of reference to The Hague. So, too, as between Peru and Ecuador, we were able, with the assistance of the great South American Republics—Brazil, Argentine and Chile—to stop a war that was on the eve of breaking out, a war that involved chiefly a question of honor, and both countries became willing to submit it to negotiation and arbitration.

We have always believed that the course we pursued impressing Bolivia and Peru to settle their boundary dispute prevented hostilities between those countries. The situation was most acute when our advice was sought by both countries. We have been able to bring the heads of two contending factions in a civil war in Honduras onto the deck of an American vessel and there negotiate terms which have led to permanent peace. Now Honduras and Nicaragua ask us to assist them in paying their debts by agreeing in case of a default to accept responsibility for the collection of the revenues and to make settlements in accordance with the contracts of indebtedness. These two treaties are pending in the Senate. I sincerely hope that they may be confirmed, because I do not know any other power that is so useful in the prevention of war as that which enables the United States Government to collect revenue of bankrupt and unstable governments and to apply them as law and the contracts made require, and thus to put the governments on their feet firmly. It has worked out with the Republic of Santo Domingo in a most remarkable way to the benefit of that country in the cause of peace, and we can be certain that it will work in the same way in the case of Honduras and Nicaragua if only the Senate will agree with the Executive and confirm the treaties made.

I have merely stated to you what has been accomplished in the present administration in the securing of peace among our South American and Central American friends. Treaties of arbitration in the matter of claims have been confirmed between them, and long steps were made by our predecessors in office in this direction. Indeed, the pacification of Cuba belongs to the last administration, and not to this. As we look back, therefore, it will not do to say that great strides have not been made in the direction of universal peace. Of course, the condition of Mexico may well make us hesitate to prophesy too strongly as to the future, but all the lovers of mankind hope that the present condition of that country may lead to the establishment of a firm government, and one in which there may not be the same occasion for popular unrest as that which gave rise to the recent collision.

For the further securing of peace, and as an example to all the world of the possibilities of the use of arbitration, we have invited England and France and Germany to make a treaty for the arbitration of all differences of an international character that in their nature can be adjudicated, and we have left out in this treaty those exceptions which have heretofore always been excluded from arbitrable controversies, to wit, questions of a nation's honor and of its vital interest. Of course, I can not say with positiveness that these treaties will all be made and confirmed. I can only say that the prospect of an agreement with the Executive of one of the countries is reasonably sure, and we have every hope as to the other two, and that these three treaties will be followed by many of the same tenor with other countries if the original three are agreed upon and confirmed.

Objection has been made that an agreement to arbitrate a question of national honor ought not to be entered into for the reason that when once honor is affected one will never consent to have the question arbitrated, and therefore that to agree to do so in advance is to agree to do something that one will not be willing to do, and that one does not intend to do, and therefore it savors of hypocrisy and ought not to be adopted as a national policy. I cannot concede the premises of this argument. I look upon a treaty of this sort as a self-denying ordinance, as a self-restricting obligation. It seems to be of the same character as the Constitution which the people as a whole set up and in which they impose checks upon their own power and limitations upon the method by which they exercise the ultimate sovereignty which is in them. It is not that they do not recognize that when the temptation comes to exercise arbitrary power they will not feel like exercising it, but it is that they deliberately impose these limitations upon their own action with the intention that they shall be effective, however averse they may be to yield to them when the occasion arises for their enforcement. And so in agreeing to arbitrate questions of national honor I see no reason why we may not agree to do so and that we may not have moral courage enough, in spite of our impulse to the contrary, to submit such questions to an impartial tribunal and await its judgment.

As I have had occasion to say before, there was a time when questions of honor could only be settled between gentlemen on the dueling field, and many a valuable life has been sacrificed to a standard of ethics which the world has now generally discarded. There is not the slightest reason why the same course may not be pursued in respect to questions of national honor. There is very little probability as between Great Britain and the United States any occasion will ever arise in which war would be possible. The same thing is true of France and Germany. Why, therefore, it is asked, is it necessary to make a treaty of arbitration to avoid wars that are only remotely possible? International law is made up of international customs, traditions and the formulation of international standards of ethics in treaties between civilized governments. A willingness of great countries like those of England, France, Germany and the United States to submit all their differences, even of honor, to an impartial tribunal, will be a step forward in the cause of peace for the world that can hardly be overestimated.

I am not a wild enthusiast or a blind optimist. I do not look forward to a complete restoration of peace which can not be disturbed in the world even if these treaties are adopted. Morality of nations improves only step by step, and so the making and confirming of these treaties must be regarded only as a step, but a very long step, toward the securing of peace in the world. To you men who have seen war, to you who know its horrors, I appeal for the support of every practical instrument like this in making war less possible and peace more permanent.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT TO THE METHODIST CHAUTAUQUA, AT MOUNTAIN LAKE PARK, MD., AUGUST 7, 1911.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I have snatched a day out of my official work to come up into this delightful mountain country to talk to you about peace.

I am not a blind optimist nor a wild enthusiast in the advocacy of an immediate change of human nature as it exhibits itself in the individual man or in the aggregation of men in human governments. I realize that moral changes among all the people and in the countries of the world take place step by step, and that progress is made only by moderate advances from time to time. I know that in the last 30 years the armaments of the great powers, especially in the main means of naval attack and defense, have increased enormously, and a surface view of this tendency would discourage one in the hope that we are coming nearer to an era of universal peace. But it will be found on study that while preparations for war have been greater than ever before, actual conflicts are much less, and that the very preparations, with their heavy expense and with the prospect of bankrupting losses in actual battle and campaigns, have operated more than ever before as deterrent of war and promoting peace.

Twice in public addresses I expressed the view that arbitration as a means of settling differences between the nations might be greatly extended to include even those things which have heretofore been excluded, to wit, questions of honor and of vital interest. The eagerness and enthusiasm with which those tentative and informal proposals were received by the great men of England of both parties and by statesmen of many other countries is perhaps the most encouraging circumstance in a century for those who longed for the end of war. It was not that the statesmen and the nations thus welcoming the proposal intended to disarm or to stop their preparations for possible war, but it was that they welcomed from the bottom of their hearts every attempt to substitute for war a peaceful means for the settlement of the controversies between nations, with the hope that when the instrumentality shall have proved itself effective as a substitute for war then the heavy and bankrupting burdens of present war preparations may be substantially reduced.

The tentative proposals to which I have referred led naturally on to negotiations between Great Britain and this country and between France and this country, and they have now resulted in the signing of formal treaties of what may be called "universal arbitration." They provide that every question of a justiciable nature shall be submitted to a tribunal of arbitration, and they define what justiciable means. It is any issue between the nations that can be properly settled upon the principles of law and equity, as those are understood in law and in international law. There are, of course, questions of policy with respect to which each nation must exercise its own discretion, and in doing so is entirely within its legal and equitable right, and however its action may affect the other nation it is not the proper subject of controversy. But even with reference to such questions, it is proposed to submit those to an impartial commission, in which both countries are equally represented, and they are to consider the matter for a year and then decide, first, whether the matters are capable of arbitration, and, if not, they are to recommend a settlement. If the controversies are found by the commission to be capable of arbitration, and not to be settled by negotiations, then the countries are bound to arbitrate them and accept the decision. The machinery thus provided will practically dispose of every question so far as it is a war-inducing issue. A year's pondering over matters we can be sure will give such pause to the hot feelings of either nation as to lead to a sensible and peaceful solution. Indeed, with the preliminary commission for consideration of the issues and recommendations for their proper settlement, the treaty may be called almost a treaty not only to avoid war but even to avoid arbitration, for it is only in the last instance, after the commission shall have failed in a year's time to suggest a satisfactory solution, that even arbitration is to be resorted to.

In the old treaty of arbitration with Great Britain the subjects of national honor and of vital interest were excepted from those which were to be considered by a tribunal of arbitration. This treaty is made for the purpose of eliminating those exceptions, and they are now subject to arbitration within the limitations of the treaty.

The treaty-making power in the United States is vested by the Constitution in the Executive and the Senate, it being required that each treaty before it can become effective shall be advised and assented to by the Senate, two-thirds of that body assenting. Hence binding action with respect to international contracts, like those for arbitration, can only be had by concurrent action of the Executive and the Senate.

Therefore, it is provided in these new arbitration treaties that while the United States and Great Britain or the United States and France agree to arbitrate every question within the terms of the treaty, the special agreement of submission, or the terms of submission, as they are sometimes called, in each instance arising when the operation of the treaty is invoked, shall be considered and acted upon by the same authority which entered into the main treaty of arbitration. In other words, by this treaty, if it is ratified, the Executive and the Senate, representing the United States, agree to settle all their differences, as described in the treaty, by arbitration or through a commission.

When a concrete instance of a cause of difference or controversy arises, then the obligations of the main treaty require the United States, through its lawfully constituted authority, to wit, the Executive and the Senate, to make the requisite agreement and submission of terms by which the machinery created in the treaty shall be set in motion, the issue defined, and the question decided. Should the treaty be ratified, the Senate, exactly as the Executive, will be in honor bound by its obligations in good faith to perform the offices which the main treaty provides shall be performed on the side of the United States, and then to abide the result, and to acquiesce, or in so far as may be, perform and execute the judgment of the tribunal.

Treaties with England and France are of the utmost importance, not in the actual prevention of war between those countries, because the danger of such a cataclysm as that is, thank God, most remote, but they are most important as steps toward the settlement of all international controversies between all countries by peaceable means and by arbitration. The fact that two great nations like Great Britain and the United States, or like France and the United States, should be willing to submit all controversies to a peaceful and impartial tribunal can not but work for righteousness among the nations, and for a willingness on their part to adopt the same means for the settlement of international disputes. To have those treaties not ratified, therefore, by the Senate of the United States, or to have any hesitation and discussion of a serious character in respect to them would halt the movement toward general peace which has made substantial advance in the last ten years. To secure the ratification of the treaties, therefore, appeal must be made to the moral sense of the nation; and while that is not entirely in keeping of the churches, certainly they may exert a powerful influence in the promotion of any effective instrumentality to secure permanent peace. Therefore, I invoke your aid as a branch of the great Methodist Church to bring all the influence you can bring to secure the confirmation of the treaties now made, and of those which may be made hereafter of a similar tenor with other countries. This movement has attracted the attention not only of England and France, but of all the countries of Europe and of the Orient. It is not too much to hope that there are a number of others who will be willing now to sign the same kind of treaties as those already made, and that we may ultimately have a network of such agreements, making long strides toward universal peace.

On Saturday last the Senate not only made public the treaties now negotiated by the United States with Great Britain and France for universal arbitration, but they also made public treaties between the United States and Nicaragua and between the United States and Honduras. One of the encouraging and marked tendencies in international matters is the increasing sense of responsibility that powerful nations are acquiring in respect to bad government and human suffering under bad government in other countries and nations. In our own country this is evidenced by the Spanish War, which was undertaken for the benefit of improving the condition of the people of Cuba. It is evidenced by the time and money and effort which have been spent for the last ten years in improving the Philippines. It is evidenced by the intervention in the last administration to prevent a revolution in Cuba. It is evidenced by the wonderfully successful intervention by Theodore Roosevelt as President of the United States in securing peace between Russia and Japan. It is evidenced by the treaty made in the last administration with Santo Domingo, by which we agreed to appoint agents to collect the revenue of Santo Domingo and to secure their application to the wiping out of a national debt which was growing beyond any hope of liquidation. One revolution succeeded another in that unfortunate country, and its history was nothing but one of blood and battle, and its people suffered intense misery from the stagnation and halting of all progress that continual wars compelled.

In respect to the Central American Republics we occupy a peculiar position. By the assertion of the Monroe doctrine we decline to allow any European country to acquire further territory in this hemisphere at the expense of any of the existing Republics, and as against such an invasion the Monroe doctrine puts us in the attitude of, in effect, guaranteeing their integrity. When, therefore, European nations, in the enforcement of the debts due to their subjects, threaten measures of force against any Central American Republic which may lead to an appropriation of its territory we can not be indifferent, and we must intervene to prevent the logical outcome of such forceful measures. But how can we act as guardian for those Republics in their dealings with European nations and their subjects unless we assume some responsibility to enable those countries to liquidate their indebtedness and readjust it on an equitable basis? It is not necessary in doing so for us to assume any financial responsibility. It is not necessary for us in doing so to use our Army and Navy for the purpose. All we have to do is to agree to do what we did in Santo Domingo, or less, to wit, to agree to appoint agents to collect the revenues of these Republics when default shall occur and apply the money in accordance with the contracts. That is a very slight responsibility for us to meet compared with the power we assert under the Monroe doctrine, to wit, to forcibly exclude all European countries from intervention and appropriation of the soil of these Republics. There is no issue before the Senate so acute in respect to the cause of peace as the confirmation of those Central American treaties. If those Republics are loaded with debts, equitable and inequitable, by our aid, extended in the way I have described, through those treaties, they have an opportunity to liquidate all their indebtedness on an equitable basis.

The very existence of the treaty and our obligation to take charge of the custom houses in case of a default has proven in the instance of Santo Domingo to be a most powerful means of preventing sedition, rebellion, local disorders, and war. Why should we withhold our aid, extended once to Santo Domingo, to these other countries equally deserving and equally under our guardianship? Is it not better thus to anticipate trouble and ward it off by mere civil arrangements that involve but little burden than to wait until war follows, until European nations undertake a forcible collection of their debts, and when we have come face to face with an European controversy and continuous wars in the Central American Republics themselves. I submit to you, my friends, that while I admit the greater importance of the universal treaties of arbitration in the long run, and as affecting the world at large, yet in respect of American interests—in respect of peace in this hemisphere—they are not equal in importance to the confirmation of these Central American treaties. The Senate has properly published them to the world for the purpose of enabling the people to examine them, to study them, and to express their opinion upon them, and I venture to hope that popular consideration of them will lead to such emphatic approval that the requisite majority in the Senate may give the treaties life and Honduras and Nicaragua and other similarly situated countries the relief they so desperately need. In the halt of business and of all progress that their impossible financial condition now imposes upon them, the poor people of these Republics are suffering from want and starvation, though living in a country of vast resources, which, under the blessing of peace and the investment of capital, could be made to yield comfort and happiness to every soul of them.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE METHODIST CONFERENCE, OCEAN GROVE, N. J., AUGUST 15, 1911.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I have come here to this great gathering at the invitation of your executive committee, and at the special instance of Gov. Murphy and Congressman Andrus. I am glad to have the privilege of meeting your distinguished governor of New Jersey, Gov. Wilson, and to receive from him the welcome of the State.

These are busy days in Washington, and it has cost me something in the matter of time and effort to accept your hospitable invitation. I could not, however, forego the opportunity of coming to talk to you on a subject in which I know that both you and I are very deeply interested. I mean the cause of the promotion of peace among the nations.

Moral progress, of course, begins with the individual, and unless you can find it there we are not likely to find it in any group of individuals, or in the millions of individuals that make a state. Hence we must expect that the code of morals that governs the association of individuals is a higher one than that which obtains in the relations between nations.

Still, while progress among individuals means progress at a slower rate among nations in this regard, it is inevitable that the method of settling differences and controversies between individuals should furnish a precedent and a suggestion for a similar method of settling controversies between nations.

There was a time in the English law when litigants might demand and have a settlement of a controversy by what was called "wager of battle," but as civilization progressed, wager of battle fell into disuse, and civil courts furnished the means by which men were able to live with each other, adjust their controversies, and continue members of the same society. As between nations, the wager of battle has not been laid aside, and we are still making treaties and arrangements by which the method of conducting war shall be limited to what is thought to be a civilized manner of conducting it, and unnecessary cruelties are forbidden and eliminated.

Now the question which the good people of all countries are agitating is whether we can not find something satisfactory which can be substituted for war as a means of settling international controversies. The closer acquaintance of nations with each other, the greater community of interest among them, the increase in the family feeling between them, all press toward an avoidance of war and a settlement of controversies otherwise. It is this real increase in the actual brotherhood of man and of the interest of the citizen or subject of one country in the citizen or subject of another, that has strengthened the yearning on the part of all peoples for some sort of a temple of justice in which kings and nations may be parties, and hearings and judgments may take the place of battles and capitulations. This feeling has been rendered stronger and stronger by the churches. The missionaries who have been sent out by civilized nations into uncivilized portions of the globe have carried the doctrine of the brotherhood of man into actual deeds of mercy and assistance. These missionaries have been nothing but the forerunners of civilization in the parts which they have visited, and the function that they have played in the spread of civilization, everyone familiar with the Orient and the non-Christian parts of the world can testify.

The same spirit which prompts the sending of missionaries into distant parts of the globe to aid the less progressive inhabitants of those sections is the spirit which is roused to enthusiasm and energetic action in the promotion of effective means for delaying war or making it less frequent and of promoting peace.

There are a few things that ought to be said with reference to the spirit in which we approach plans for the settlement of controversies without resort to war. In the first place, if we insist upon a plan in which we are always likely to win the controversy, the plan will not probably approve itself to the person or nation with whom we propose to make the agreement. If we are afraid to submit to an impartial tribunal, lest we may lose our case, then we would better go back to war as the only means of settling international controversies when negotiation fails. When we enter into an arbitration, or an agreement to submit our differences to an impartial tribunal, we must "play the game."

We must be willing to lose, as we are anxious to win. Therefore, it seems to me of much importance that in considering what ought to be done, and what can be done in constituting an international court for the settlement of international differences, the parties should come to feel that the court is for the purpose of settling, one way or the other, real international differences, the settlement of which will be a great disappointment to one or the other of the parties. It is generally quite impossible for a court to decide a case so that both parties shall like the decision, and a court to decide between nations cannot find it any more easy than a domestic court to do this. We cannot make omelets without breaking eggs; we cannot submit international questions to arbitration without the prospect of losing, and if arbitration is to be effected, and is to cover the ground that shall really promote the cause of peace and prevent war, it must cover questions of the utmost interest to both countries, and therefore the loss of one country in the contest must be of course a serious matter to that country; and when it comes into an agreement for arbitration it must be willing to face the disappointment that comes from a serious loss thus imposed by an arbitral decision. If the subject of arbitration is merely for discussion in peace societies, and is only for the purpose of furnishing a text for an address like that I am delivering to you, and if the result is not to mean real victory for one party and real defeat for the other, certainly the time of diplomatic officers, who have many other things to do, ought not to be wasted on it.

I am very serious in my advocacy of arbitration as a means of settling international disputes, and I believe that you are. I am willing to abide an adverse decision in a court of arbitration for my own country, even though it may impose a serious loss upon her, if the system of arbitration is to be made permanent and the court is of such a character that when I have just cause I can count on receiving a just judgment. I emphasize these things because as between individuals in society we differentiate with clearness between the strength and the weakness of a man's claim in his contest with others in civil society; but when we come to discuss national affairs and the interest of our country we are all prone to take up the cry "For my country always! May she always be right; but, whether right or wrong, for my country!" Now, where war is the only method of arbitrament, it is impracticable for one citizen to set up against the draft that may be made upon him by his country to sustain her in a war that her cause is not a just one; but supposing war to be out of the question, we should have no objection to submitting our claims to a just court, and we ought to abide in peace its judgment that we do not have a just cause, however hurtful it may be to our national pride and however prejudicial to our national pecuniary or material interest. In other words, ladies and gentlemen, if we are going into the arbitration game, if I may call it such, we must play it through to the end, and we must take our hard knocks with equanimity, as we expect others to take theirs, with the hope and knowledge that the disadvantage that may accrue to each party can never equal the horrible losses, the cruelty and the wickedness of war.

We have made progress among the nations in the cause of peace.

At the instance of the Emperor of Russia The Hague conferences were held and The Hague tribunal established. This was, of course, with exceptions and conditions and provisions, all of which limit the kinds of cases that go into that court, and so we can not say that there is a general provision for the arbitration of all questions between nations, but there is the machinery, there is a basis upon which future action can be taken, and we may look forward with reasonable hope to an enlargement of the office of The Hague court until after a while it shall be a general international court, in which all nations shall be willing to put their claims and their defenses for consideration and decision. Heretofore agreements for abitration generally excepted questions of national honor and of vital interest. It has always seemed to me that these exceptions were so broad that they excluded a great many important questions that might just as well be arbitrated as any other, and so I suggested last year that I would be willing to take the responsibility as President of initiating a treaty with one or more important governments for the arbitration of all international differences, even though they did include those of national honor and of vital interest. That was a public declaration and it was soon publicly accepted both by England and France. Negotiations were carried on with a full knowledge of both countries, and after an agreement was reached a synopsis of it was issued by the Secretary of State, and the nations concerned and the world generally know the substance of the treaties. After some months in the preparation of the exact language it was submitted to the Senate.

The treaties provide that all questions that are justiciable arising between England and this country and France and this country shall be arbitrated and submitted either to The Hague or some other international court. That the question shall be justiciable as defined in the first clause of the treaty—first, it must be between the two countries to the treaty; second, it must relate to an international matter; third, both parties must be concerned in the matter; fourth, the concern of the complaining nation must be based upon a claim of right under a treaty or otherwise; fifth, the difference must be capable of being adjusted by the application of the rules of law and equity, domestic or international. If all these elements are found to exist in respect to the difference between the two nations, then it is an arbitral difference within the meaning of Article I of the treaty. If the two powers cannot agree that a specific difference between them is arbitrable, then provision is made for the appointment of a commission to consist of three representatives of one power and three representatives of the other, who are to meet and consider what the difference is, whether it can be ended by negotiation, to recommend a solution, if possible, and if not, then to determine whether the issue is arbitrable, and if five-sixths of the commission—that is, three of one side and two of the other—shall agree that it is arbitrable, then it is to be submitted under the form prepared in the treaty to arbitration under a special agreement, which, in the case of the United States, is to be signed by the Executive and concurred in by the Senate.

I would have been willing myself to provide that all differences of opinion on international matters should be submitted to a court of arbitration for its decision, and to have left it to the court itself to say whether the difference arising could be properly settled by arbitration. In other words, I believe in arbitration to a point that I am willing to arbitrate anything in which I believe I have a good cause, and if I don't believe I have a good cause I wish to give it up in advance of arbitration. But public opinion is perhaps not so far advanced as this, and therefore the commission plan was devised by which the question of the arbitrable character of the controversy was left to a joint high commission, consisting of three representatives of each party, it being supposed that neither party would feel itself in danger of an unjust decision as to the arbitrable character of a difference in a tribunal in which three of the persons were their own fellow citizens appointed by their Executive, and in our case with the consent of the Senate.

Having completed the two treaties with England and France, I submitted them to the Senate for their advice and consent to my ratification of them. Of course I could have called the Senate in advance of the making of the treaties, and it would not have been a departure from the proper method for me to have learned in advance the action the Senate might take upon such a question. But I had myself publicly declared my willingness to initiate such a treaty, and so far as my authority went to carry it to a successful negotiation. It did not seem wise, therefore, to submit the matter to the Senate until after it had taken definite form, and until after we had found that the other countries were willing to join us in such treaties. Now, I freely concede that it is within the power of the Senate, in its function of advising and consenting to the treaties, either to reject them or to amend them. They do not amend the treaties, strictly speaking, they merely continue the negotiation by suggesting another form to be submitted to the other party to the treaty, and that I understand is what the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate has done, to wit, it has stricken out the third clause, vesting the commission of six commissioners, three from each side, with the power to determine whether differences are arbitrable within the meaning of the first section, and to bind both countries when the vote is five out of six in the commission to the acceptance of a judgment by arbitration upon such issue. I think this is a very important part of the treaty. I think it is one of those pledges of good faith in entering into the treaty that is essential to take it a step forward in the adjustment of international controversies. When we agree that we will submit all justiciable controversies to the judgment of an arbitration, and decline to allow anybody to decide what is justiciable except ourselves, we give little sanction or pledge in advance of our willingness and anxiety to settle all possible controversies by arbitration. The treaty then is likely to become a mere expression of a desire to arbitrate where we think we can arbitrate without losing, and where our material or other interests will not suffer by defeat, or where the case is so clear that we are certain to win. At least this is the opportunity it affords when we reserve to ourselves the right to decide what we regard as justiciable when the case arises. If this is to be a real advance, then we must be willing to risk something in making the treaty.

But it is said that we are asking the Senate, in consenting to the ratification of these treaties, to abdicate some of its functions. I confess I follow this claim with very little sympathy or acquiescence. The Senate is part of the treaty-making power of the country. A treaty is a contract. It is an agreement by which, if the Government of the United States is a party, those who represent it may bind it to a certain course of action in the future. That is involved in the power to make a treaty itself. A contract—a treaty—is a stipulation as to the future conduct of those who enter into it. Now, if we have power to enter into arbitration, we have the power to agree to enter into arbitration under conditions that are described in the treaty, and as we have the right to leave the interests of the country to a judgment of the court, to which it is submitted by agreement, we certainly have the right to submit to that court to decide whether the particular instance and difference which has arisen, or shall arise in the future, is within the description of the treaty and of the obligation which we entered into in the treaty. To say that this is an abdication of the functions of the Senate is to say that it is not the function of the Senate to make an agreement at all which shall bind the Government. I have no desire to minimize in the slightest degree the importance of the Senate as part of the treaty-making power. I have no desire to minimize its importance in the framework of the Government which the drafters of the Constitution founded. It furnishes a second legislative Chamber of Members, with a six years' tenure, which insures a proper check in the sober consideration of legislation sent over to it by the House of Representatives, and it properly divides with the Executive the power and responsibility of shaping our international relations. But when the prerogatives of the Senate are spoken of, the term "prerogative" does not make the power which it intends the Senate has any more sacred than the power of the Executive in respect to the same subject matter. If the Executive and the Senate acting together may make a contract of submission to arbitration, there is very little limitation upon the scope of the questions which they have power to submit. The treaty-making power is a very broad one, and it is not straining it in the slightest to include within it the power to make a treaty of arbitration, by which a certain class of questions described in the treaty are to be submitted to arbitration, and by which the power shall be committed to a tribunal of arbitration to decide whether future instances arising are within the class described in the treaty or not.

I had hoped that the treaties, when submitted to the Senate, would meet with early ratification and concurrence. In this I have been disappointed, but I do not wish to be put in an attitude of expressing impatience at a proper deliberation by the Senate on matters of so great importance as this. On the contrary, I urge such delay and deliberation, because I am convinced that longer consideration will satisfy the Members of the Senate that the chief objection which seems to be made to the third clause of the treaty has no weight in it whatever. Of course, there is a difference between the argument directed to whether the Senate has the power to submit to a commission the question whether a difference is arbitrable or not, and the policy of doing so. I confess myself unable to find any just argument upon which a defect in the power of the Senate for this purpose can be urged.

The policy of the matter presents a somewhat different issue and makes me recur to the subject matter of my remarks earlier in this address. If we are in earnest in favor of arbitration, and hope to make it a means of dispensing with war and of settling real controversies, then we must be willing to risk defeat in arbitration, and on important matters, as we may earnestly hope for success, and I, for one, in my profound desire to find some means of avoiding the awful cost and horrors of war, am ready to run the risk and go fully to the point of submitting important international differences to a tribunal where we may win or lose.

I venture thus, my friends, to point out the differences that may arise between the Executive and the Senate in this matter. That an agreement may be reached, of course, I sincerely hope. The powers of the Senate, as well as those of the Executive, are all derived from the people. Neither is more sacred than the other. As I have already said, I am the last person to minimize the importance of the Senate's retaining its constitutional powers, and of its refusing to abdicate any function which that instrument gives it. I think its sensitiveness in regard to its power ought to be respected and not criticized or made light of, because if the balance of power in the Constitution between the Executive and the Senate and the House of Representatives and the judiciary is to be maintained, one of the chief hopes of its maintenance lies in the assertion of each branch of what its powers are and its refusal to abate any of them. Still, if the Senate, or any Members of it, should think that its powers are greater or less than they are, and the limitations they insist upon interfere with progress toward peace, or any other great national or international policy, the question whether they are right or not must ultimately be referred back to the people whose representatives the Members of the Senate are, for we all, as I say, have derived our powers from the people, as the ultimate source of power, and in case of disagreement the proper place for discussion of such an issue is before the people. The cause is sufficiently great to warrant the straining of effort to secure treaties like those which make for international peace. If I am wrong in my judgment, and I do not claim infallibility, and know that the enthusiasm of the cause may sometimes warp judgment, I am quite willing to abide the ultimate judgment of the people; but I deem it my duty, until I shall receive an adverse decision, to urge my views upon the Senate, and to invoke the attention of the people to these questions and such expression of opinion by them as shall influence a ratification of the treaties as they were signed.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT TO THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC, AT CONVENTION HALL, ROCHESTER, N. Y., AUGUST 23, 1911.

MEN OF THE GRAND ARMY:—I thank you for this invitation to be present at your annual encampment. I was present at your annual meeting in Toledo three years ago, and I am always glad, when opportunity offers, to testify to my high appreciation of your body as a civic organization of the greatest usefulness. I say "civic organization," for it certainly is not now a militay organization, although it was organized to keep in fresh and sacred memory the deeds of the greatest military organization that probably ever existed—the Grand Army of the Republic as it was in 1865.

I congratulate you that there are no politics in the Grand Army; that you are a non-partisan body, and that each man votes his sentiments without fear or the influence of his fellows. I am glad to know that important as the body is, widespread as is its membership through the country, no suggestions of outside influence are permitted to have weight in your councils or the selection of your leaders.

I hope you may continue to have meetings as long as there are two survivors of your host, and then that, in the Sons of Veterans, may be continued the traditions of courage, patriotism, and self-sacrifice, liberty, fraternity, and loyality, that mark your present organization.

It is now half a century since the conflict of arms began in which one-half of this country was arrayed against the other half. In this annual gathering of the survivors of the men who in that contest fought to preserve the Union and to unite again the contending forces, one becomes necessarily reminiscent of the conditions that prevailed before the war began, and in the retrospect marks the wonderful changes in our national conditions which this 50 years have witnessed.

How dark must have been the outlook of any lover of his country, whether he lived in the North or in the South, who understood or measured the depth of the conviction of the North as to the necessity for maintaining the Union without slavery, or the conviction of the South as to the importance of sustaining slavery as an economic institution and State rights as a principle of constitutional construction!

For years the cleavage had manifested itself in Congress, in politics, and in society, and Lincoln's declaration that the country could not remain half free and half slave crystalized the sentiment of those who saw clearly the inevitable tendency of public opinion in the North and in the South. How discouraged must have been the philosophers of those days who sought for some peaceful solution, or a solution by arms which would not so rend the country as to destroy the possibility of its great future! The problem seemed insoluble, and yet we have worked it out. It was done by a tremendous war, a conflict that developed an unsuspected strength on both sides—an energy and courage in the North and a brave power of resistance to the uttermost in the South. It is pointed out that the resources of the North exceeded those of the South. That is doubtless true, but the problem that the North had was affirmative; the problem that the South had was negative. The problem of the North was "capture, tranquillization, and reunion;" the problem of the South was "resistance" only. What statesman, what prophet in the dark days of the fifties and 1860 and 1861 could look forward from a nation of 30,000,000, rent by this fundamental cause of difference and driven into bloody contest, to a nation to-day of 90,000,000, with a prosperity, a wealth per capita, and a condition of comfort for the individual, and an equality of opportunity that has never been equaled in the world? When we contemplate what we have lived through and what has been accomplished, it ought to encourage us to feel that the problems before us are slight in comparison with those we have solved; and here, in the presence of the survivors of those men who saved the country and helped to solve that problem 50 years ago, I would draw a lesson that, it seems to me, is of the utmost usefulness in times like these. Our very prosperity and the accumulation of our wealth have brought other problems, elusive and difficult in their settlement, and have prompted a higher civic ambition with reference to the condition of the individual and his equality of opportunity, and with reference to use of wealth by its owners and restrictions upon methods of use unduly oppressive to competitors and to the public at large.

These higher aims for the betterment of society, these new evils growing out of the concentration of wealth, and these combinations which, properly controlled, are a great good in the reduction of the cost of production, have invited from the active-minded of to-day suggestions of reform that are so extreme that the medicine to many of us seems worse than the disease. Those who are charged with the responsibility and sobered with the difficulties find themselves in the middle of the road resisting the tendency to socialism on the one hand and the inertia of reactionary contentment with present evils and ambition for greater concentration of financial power on the other; but we are gradually solving the problem. The present does not bring difficulties as great as you had to meet and overcome in '61. It may be a longer fight, because it will not involve violence or the shedding of blood, but it must and will be solved peacefully and by the earnest effort of the level-headed, the practical, and the courageous among us, and by reducing the influence of the demagogue and theoretical extremists on the one hand and the reactionary influence of combinations of wealth on politics and progress on the other. Its solution will be consistent with the preservation of our ancient institutions of personal liberty and private property under the Constitution. The message that you bear, with your experience and your success, to those of us struggling now with the problem is that, however dark at times the situation seems, so long as we retain in this country a God-fearing, sober, intelligent people, we can count in the long run upon their working out safely and sanely the problems set before them, no matter how many mistakes in the form of nostrums they may be led into by the speciousness of half-baked theories of progress, no matter how often they may have been defeated in their purpose by the temporary success of undue influence of concentrated wealth.

Such anniversaries as these of the heroes that survived the awful conflict of 1861 to 1865 are useful in many ways. In the first place, they must give to you who participate an intense joy in the quickening of the bond of common recollection and association formed in those days of strife of the past, when you all were exposed to the dangers of the battlefield, and only part lived to tell the tale. In the next place, such a union and demonstration furnish a lesson to the youth of the country, and prompt them to a willingness to enlist in her support whenever new exigencies shall arise calling for the sacrifice; and, finally, it revives through the nation at large the useful recollection of the difficulties through which the country has come, and over which it has triumphed, and gives new courage and new hope to those who are struggling with present difficulties. This thought has come to me time and time again since I have had the responsibility of the Presidency; and when there seemed troubles and burdens that were hard to bear my mind has reverted to those which Lincoln carried, and in comparison with his sad mental struggles, mine have seemed boyish and of little weight.

But I did not come here, my friends, to discuss the state of the nation at large, and these remarks of mine are made only as an introduction to the subject of arbitration and peace.

You are here to commemorate the fact of war and the sacrifice that war made necessary and the success that attended your struggles in battle. But you are not here to praise war or to advocate its continuance. You are the first to admit that the awful horrors that are inevitable in war should be avoided if possible. You know better than those of us who have had no experience how dreadful it is, what cruelties it involves, what painful sacrifices on the part of mother, and wife, and daughter it entails. You can not be blind to the devilish instincts it excites, to the corruption and demoralization that follow in its train. These things you know by actual experience, and this it is that makes you an audience to whom appeals in behalf of progress toward universal peace can be properly made.

Of course every sensible man knows that if no other means is furnished for the settlement of international controversies but negotiation, the time is likely to come when that means will fail, and then war will ensue. The nations of the globe, especially those in close proximity to each other, are armed to the teeth and with the most expensive modern armament, to be ready, when the possibility of other settlement shall have passed, to defend themselves and injure their opponents. The cost of modern armament is so great and the cataclysmic effect of modern wars is so pronounced that I believe them to be less frequent than in the past, and in this way the preparations for war have possibly reduced its probability rather than increased it. But we can be confident that war will not disappear unless some method is furnished which shall satisfactorily settle the differences that must in the nature of things arise between the nations of the world. Of course, between individuals in a community the differences which arise are settled in courts. We have now treaties for arbitration which are made for the purpose of settling controversies that arise between us and other countries, but there are exceptions in the description of the differences that are to be arbitrated under those treaties which exclude questions of honor and vital interest. I need not stop to discuss the meaning of these terms except to say that they are wide enough to exclude from the effect of the treaties many questions that may arise between nations which are more likely to produce war than the questions included in the treaties. I ventured last year and the year before in one or two public addresses to express the opinion that there was no reason why such questions could not be arbitrated as other questions. This expression at length awakened a cordial response both in England and in France, and it has led to the negotiation of two treaties—one with England and one with France. Those treaties have gone to the Senate and are now under consideration in that body. The majority of the Committee on Foreign Relations has reported in favor of the amendment to the treaties, and a minority in favor of their adoption as they are, with a possible suggestion in the act of ratification as to their construction. I do not come before you in opposition to the Senate, and I do not wish to criticise the majority of the committee that has reported an amendment. I am only anxious to promote as full a public discussion of the questions now arising in respect to the confirmation of the treaties as possible, because I feel confident that a public discussion of the matter, followed by popular expression, will aid much in the clarification of the subject in the Senate itself, and will lead to convincing a majority of that body, and perhaps all, of the wisdom of the prompt ratification of the treaties as they were signed. I am especially anxious to emphasize the fact that I do not wish to be put in antagonism to the Senate. I am one of those who greatly admire the plan of government devised by our forefathers in the Constitution. I think that one of the most admirable features in that framework is the Senate of the United States, with its various functions. I should be the last, therefore, to seek to deprive the Senate of any of the powers given to it by the Constitution. If after full consideration and calm discussion the Senate shall take a different course from the one I urge, of course, like a law-abiding citizen, I shall cheerfully acquiesce in their judgment. But while this is my attitude, I do not think that it is improper for me, until the matter is settled, to urge ratification, to meet as best I can the arguments advanced against it, and respectfully to question a limitation upon the power of the Senate, which is made the basis for the contention that the Senate can not properly ratify and confirm these treaties. In other words, I am contending for larger powers in the making of these treaties on the part of the Senate than some Members of the Senate and of the Committee on Foreign Relations are willing to admit.

The first clause of the treaties binds the parties to submit either to The Hague or some other court of arbitration "all justiciable differences hereafter arising" between them, and provides that the submission of the question, when it arises, shall be by special agreement of the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate, and by England or France in accordance with their constitutional provisions. The second article provides for the organization of a joint high commission, to consist of three of the subjects or citizens of one of the countries and three of the other. At the request of either party any controversy between them may be referred to this commission for investigation and recommendation before it has been submitted to arbitration. The reference may be postponed until one year after the formal request has been made, in order to afford an opportunity for diplomatic discussion and adjustment of the questions. The report of the joint high commission is to be advisory and not conclusive on either party in respect of all the questions they pass upon, except one. That is where there is a difference between the parties as to whether the question at issue is subject to arbitration under the first clause or not. If so, and five out of six members of the commission decide that it is justiciable and so arbitrable under the first clause, then both parties are bound by that decision.

I have thus stated the nub of the treaties. They have been signed, and nothing awaits their going into force except the ratification of the Senate. I do not contend that if we make treaties war is to disappear. I do not contend that war will be absolutely impossible between the countries that make the treaties, because treaties have been violated, and you can not always foresee what a country in convulsions of fury may do; but I do contend that such treaties as these make war much less probable between the countries, and that as an example to other countries they suggest the wisdom of similar treaties, and thus furnish hope of general progress toward a condition in which war is generally less probable.

The evil of war and what follows in its train I need not dwell upon. The slightest acquaintance with history makes that known. We could not have a higher object than the adoption of any proper means which lessens the chance of war.

Those who have objected to the treaty have first suggested that the organization of the joint high commission, with the power given to either party to secure a reference of a controversy to it, for consideration for a year, makes it a breeder of war. I confess myself unable to follow the force of such an argument. Delay always cools the blood of individuals and nations. Discussion somewhat drawn out postpones the probability of violence and force. The level headed on both sides find in postponement of an issue and a crisis the best instrument for reducing the heat of a quarrel or the resentment at a fancied insult. Nothing so subdues the truculent spirit as the strain of long waiting to give it ratification.

But the main and chief objection, if I understand it, to the treaty is that the Senate can not agree to abide the judgment of a joint high commission like this as to whether a difference between the two countries comes under the description contained in the first clause, and is, therefore, arbitrable. By doing so, it is said the Senate will in some way part with the power conferred upon it by the Constitution, and which it is forbidden to delegate. It is clear that the Senate may agree to arbitrate a class of questions in advance of their arising in the future. At least, the present Senate can hardly dispute this, for it has already made many treaties in which it has agreed to arbitrate all questions except certain classes which are specified. If it has the right to agree to arbitration in the future upon any class of questions, and be bound by such an agreement, it is impossible to escape the conclusion that it may be bound to arbitrate the question of the construction of a treaty in the future, for such a question is one of the most frequent in actual practice that arises in international controversies. Now the issue whether a question arising is within the class described in the first section of the treaty is a question arising in the construction of the treaty. In what respect, therefore, is the power of the Senate limited to make an agreement on this subject?

Of course the question of power is one thing and the wisdom of exercising it is another. If the Senate thinks it unwise to consent to submit such a thing to arbitration, then the argument is upon the wisdom. Why is it unwise? Here are three men selected from one country and three from another to constitute this commission. They devote themselves to the investigation of the question. Is it likely that two out of three Americans or two out of three Englishmen or two out of three Frenchmen will consent that a question is arbitrable as against its own country if in fact it is not clearly so? How much real risk, therefore, is run by the Senate in consenting that five-sixths of the commission may decide a question of construction of the treaty? The importance of retaining the provision is, however, to give a pledge and sanction of the good faith of both parties in entering into the treaty and the real hope that it may avoid war. It is a self-denying arrangement. It assumes that the countries may be anxious to avoid arbitration, or that one of them may be, and it leaves this question to another tribunal than the country itself, to another judge than one of the parties, to decide. If this is not done, and it is left to the parties to decide whether any issue comes under the first clause, the treaty is not very binding, because a strong motive present in the mind of either party to avoid arbitration of the particular issue will prompt every plausible objection by it that the matter is not arbitrable, and thus will prove fatal to the operation of the treaty upon the question. In other words, the treaty would become, in effect, then, only a general statement in favor of arbitration as a means of settling difficulties without effective obligation.

We wish to make progress—real progress—we wish to enter into a contract that binds us to something. We can not expect to win all our arbitrations; we can not expect to have an arbitration when we would and reject it when we would not, just because we think we might lose. If the arbitration method is to become useful at all, it must involve obligations by both parties to submit questions when they would rather not submit them. To make a contract under which we are able to do as we like in the future is to make no contract at all. It is a mere declaration of present willingness, with such a reservation as would enable us to follow our future desires as we will. It is this submission to another tribunal of the definite question whether the first clause includes the issue which has arisen and the agreement to abide the judgment that gives substance and weight to the treaty.

Norway and Sweden have entered into an agreement to arbitrate certain questions, with certain exceptions, and they have agreed that the Board of Arbitration may decide conclusively for the parties whether the question arising comes within the exceptions or the general rule contained in the treaty itself. I would be willing to go that far, and to leave to the Board of Arbitration itself the question whether the issue arising is within the first clause of the treaty. We find its complete analogy in the power of domestic courts to determine whether the question brought before it is within its own jurisdiction.

Here, lest there might be sensitiveness in giving to the arbirators this full power to determine their own jurisdiction, another tribunal, consisting only of persons selected from the countries involved, was created to determine the question, and a vote of five out of six was required before the decision should be binding. It is a concession to the spirit of the objection made in the Senate to the third clause—the spirit that hesitates to make a real agreement to arbitrate anything in the future lest in some way we may lose a controversy. I am bound to admit that submission to a commission constituted as this one is, is not the greatest step that could be taken, but it is a step in the right direction, toward a settlement of questions under a contract that has some binding force and sanction, and does not depend for its usefulness entirely upon the concurring willingness in the future of parties to abide by their own agreement.

These treaties, if ratified, will do much toward establishing arbitration as the means of settling all international difficulties. It would be a great misfortune if we were not able to avail ourselves of the opportunity which offers. I do not doubt we shall be able to negotiate with many other countries similar treaties, if these are confirmed by the Senate.

Objection has been made to the agreement of this treaty that under the first section it might be claimed that we would be called upon to submit to arbitration the Monroe doctrine, our right to exclude foreign peoples from our shores, or the question of the validity of the southern bonds issued in reconstruction days. These suggestions have nothing in them. The question of the Monroe policy is not a justiciable one. It is one of purely governmental policy which we have followed for a century, and which the countries of Europe have generally acquiesced in. With respect to this very matter, Sir Edward Grey, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, has announced publicly that the Monroe policy could not be disputed by them under this treaty, and would not come within its terms.

With respect to the exclusion of immigrants, it is a principle of international law that each country may admit of the persons who come to its shores those whom it chooses to have admitted and may reject the others. This is a subject of domestic policy which no foreign country can interfere in, unless provisions in a treaty affect the question, and then it may become properly a question of treaty construction and obligation. In the absence of a treaty, it is not an arbitrable question.

With reference to the right to involve the United States in a controversy over the obligation of certain Southern States to pay bonds issued during reconstruction, which have been repudiated, it is sufficient to say that such a question would not come within the treaty, for the treaty only affects "cases hereafter arising," and the cases of the southern bonds all arose years ago. These instances are cited to show the lack of wisdom in entering into the treaty. I refer to them to show that we would not be embarrassed in the slightest in respect to them by this treaty, because by its terms they are excluded from the scope of the arbitration it provides.

I think I have considered all the objections that are seriously made. I have treated them in a summary manner, but I hope my treatment of them is sufficient to set your minds working on the issue which is now pending with respect to the treaty, and that you may be convinced that the objections are not well taken and that the treaty ought to be ratified.

To the men who have known to their cost the horrors and sacrifices of war, to the men to whom the country is under a debt of the deepest gratitude for saving the Union—the men who were victors in war and yet were the first to make possible the union of hearts between the blue and the gray—to the men whose greatest leader expressed the national yearning in his words, "Let us have peace," I appeal to promote the cause of peace by approving these treaties and urging their ratification.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE SIXTH CONVENTION OF THE WORLD'S SUNDAY SCHOOL ASSOCIATION, AT CONVENTION HALL, WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 19, 1910.

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen of the World's Sunday School Association:—One remark of your presiding officer sank so deeply into my mind that I must comment upon it at once. I hope he will continue to pray for the President of the United States. My experience is that it is needed.

It is a great honor to welcome to Washington, the City Beautiful, a world's convention at a time when the city is most beautiful. From all parts of the world we welcome here the representatives of one of the two or three great instrumentalities for making the world better, for making it more moral, and for making it more religious.

Youth is the time to inculcate. Our public school education is only secular teaching, with the teaching of morality in general. But that is not enough. There are those, whose opinions I highly respect, who feel as if it were dangerous to have education at all unless associated with religious education; but we in our country, under our system, have not found it practical to have public education associated with distinctly religious education, and therefore, we feel, even more than in countries where that is possible, the necessity for Sunday School education and for Sunday Schools. No matter what views are taken of general education, we all agree—Protestant, Catholic and Jew alike—that Sunday School education is absolutely necessary to secure moral uplift and religious spirit.

The invention of the Sunday School is accredited to Robert Raikes in 1780 or 1781. That there had been something equivalent to the Sunday School, in one form or another, for centuries before that, is doubtless true; and I think history shows that we knew something of the Sunday School in this country before that time, but I think it was Mr. Raikes who pressed upon his countrymen the necessity for the use of this instrumentality in forwarding religion. At a time when he brought it forward, the Sunday School had to supply some of the uses of the great public schools of to-day; but it is undoubtedly true that the impulse which he gave to religious thought and religious fervor in those days had much to do with adding to the revival of religion under the inspiration of the evangelists and of Wesley and others who made that revival in the eighteenth century so noteworthy.

Adam Smith, Hannah Moore and Rowland Hill, the man who gave us the post office in most of its useful features, introduced the Sunday School into London. It showed that Mr. Hill's mind was not only occupied with one means of spreading education, but that it also took up the subject of religious education as well. There were, as there always will be, in the spreading of any useful movement, conscientious members of the church who were opposed to the Sunday School, but they have disappeared.

The spread of the Sunday School, the organization of the Sunday School Union in 1785, and the counting of heads a few years later, showed 200,000 pupils in the schools. In this country the Sunday School Union and the spread of the Sunday School movement seems to have been even wider and more thorough than in any other part of the world —one million teachers and eight million pupils against one million teachers and eight and a half million pupils in the rest of the world. Those figures are figures of some years ago, and I doubt not they may be added to by millions with reference to the pupils, and by hundreds of thousands with reference to the teachers. A movement of such strength is one which we ought to welcome in every community, and testify to the respect we have for the good which it is doing.

It seems a work of supererogation to talk about the advantage of beginning moral and religious instruction with the earliest youth. We do not have to convince each other that that which we learn in youth lasts longest with us.

There is another great advantage connected with the Sunday School teaching, namely, that it commands without money and without price one-eighth as many teachers as there are pupils, who give their time to this work. I want to say that I believe the influence of the Sunday School upon the teachers is in some respects even more beneficial than its influence upon the pupils. A boy or girl is a boy or a girl. They take in moral lessons and they occasionally forget them. They learn their Bible verses and some retain them, but many lose them. But the education that the teacher gets in preparing himself or herself to teach another, the responsibility that he assumes in developing the religious character of another, and the necessary depth and fervor of spirit which he must develop, if he is not a hypocrite, in trying to lead others, necessarily elevates him in a way which would be otherwise impossible.

And now, my friends, I welcome you to Washington. I welcome you here with the hope that this convention, as the many others that you have had, may bring about a comparison of methods of teaching, an improvement in the methods of teaching, and an improvement in the way to awaken the hearts and souls of your little pupils, and that you may carry away from Washington the feeling that this meeting has done something to make progress in the great work of which you are guardians throughout the world.

The reference of your distinguished president to the death of the late King, and the feeling of mourning which it awakened on both sides of the ocean, bring to mind how much such a world's convention as this means in the perpetuation of the peace of nations and the love of each for the other.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT CITY HALL PARK, FRESNO, CALIFORNIA, AT A UNION RELIGIOUS SERVICE, OCTOBER 10, 1909.

Mr. Mayor, Clergymen of Fresno, Ladies and Gentlemen, Citizens of Fresno:—It has not been my part, until I began this trip, in religious exercises to do other than form one of the audience; but I have found it impossible, under the friendly urgency of ministers of the gospel who occasionally desire a lay substitute, to keep from taking their places and attempting to preach a sermon.

I want to say, first, with respect to this audience, that the presence of the veterans of the Civil War is always a great inspiration to higher thoughts, to higher moral standards and to everything that goes to make our country worth living for.

I had discussed the question with some of my companions as to what subject I might select for this Sunday afternoon as one taking part in religious exercises, and with the true California spirit, it was suggested that I ought to point out to Californians how much they have to thank God for. And perhaps if I took that subject I could get more earnest sympathy and hearing than some other texts more useful. There is a text, however, I don't know that I can quote it exactly, but to these gentlemen before me who have taken part in the battles of the war, it will come by reason of its comparison with great significance, that "He who conquers himself is greater than he who taketh a city." Now the home application to the individual of that text I need hardly point out. The struggles that a man who is burdened by heredity or otherwise with the taste for strong drink, who overcomes it, though it chases him night and day—those of us who are not so afflicted may yet appreciate and honor in the man who having yielded many times has finally struggled and with the aid of God won the victory. But it is not drink alone.

And then there are so many instances in little things. I like to dwell upon the importance of little things in life, for life is not made up of one great series of grandstand plays. It is made up of the little things that go either to make others happy or to make them unhappy. It is the conduct of the husband as he comes home after a tired day in restraining himself when he is met by his eager, curious wife, who wants to know how he has been living during that day and what has happened. Perhaps something has happened that does not please him, and he does not like to refer to it, and he cuts her off with a short answer. Oh, I know it and so do you. You have done it. So have I. Now it is in the overcoming of that disposition, the keeping constantly in your mind and heart her happiness, and not your comfort and your disposition. That is what makes you greater than if you took a city. And so it is with reference to everyone with whom you come in contact. If you have to say "No," say it in such a way as to indicate to the person to whom you say it that you would like to say "Yes" if you could; and when you do say "Yes" and are able to communicate it to the other person, then you are glad because you know it makes him feel happy. These are the homely illustrations of what I read into that text. But I am supposed, I suppose, to look at things from a political and governmental standpoint, and the text appeals to me more strongly in that regard possibly than in any other, because of some very acute experiences that I have had in political matters.

Popular government we all approve of, though sometimes I don't think we know exactly why we do approve it. I think we mistake frequently ends for means. We talk about liberty as something to be secured as an end. We think popular government as something to be secured as an end. Well, neither is true. Liberty is a means in the pursuit of happiness. Popular government we have because we believe that it is the best government, that it is the government which makes most people happy, and the reason is this: That in the long run the interests of any particular class, and by that I mean those people who are affected by the same sort of circumstances, can by representation in the government be better trusted to look after their own interests than any other class can be trusted to look after those interests no matter how altruistic that class. So that if every class is represented, assuming that each class has intelligence enough to know its own interest, we can count on that being a better government than a government by one or a few or only a particular class. That is a popular government, but you can not run a popular government merely by calling it so. You have got to have some means of determining what shall direct the course of government; what shall decide. That is the majority. I don't know any other method in a popular government. We do have checks. We do have indirect means of giving expression to that vote of the majority, but when you get down to the basis, it is the control of the majority. Now you can not have a decent, popular government unless that majority can conquer itself; that is unless that majority exercises the self-restraint that men with great power ought to exercise if it is to be exercised justly, you can not have popular government. And why? Well, take instances. I am not going into the various parts of the world, but I could call your attention, if it wasn't that I am in a responsible position now with respect to foreign countries, and I have got to speak with care—I could call your attention to a good many instances where those who are in favor of popular government, and who, if I may use the expression, pull the tail feathers out of the eagle in deifying liberty and apostrophizing everything that we think dear, and yet just as soon as they become a majority they think that gives them the right to control the minority absolutely, and if the minority show any disposition to question it, they send them to jail. What is the effect of that? They say this is popular rule; this is the rule of the majority. So what does the minority do? Why the minority says: "We will take to the woods," and they do take to the woods. And so we have that system that alternates between an election and a revolution and a revolution and an election, and you call that popular government. Now why is it that that works that way? It is because the majority and the minority do not govern themselves and do not exercise that self-restraint without which popular government is absolutely impossible. And that is the application of the text that comes home to me in thinking and dealing with those countries that are struggling for popular government. A minority that is beaten in the election can not stand the defeat. It has to go to the woods. They are not good losers, and the majority are not good winners. Popular government is a most difficult thing to establish. We have had to hammer it out in a thousand years of Anglo-Saxon suffering and controversy and contest. And now it rests where? It rests in the common sense and the self restraint of the American people. It rests in the knowledge of the majority that it has got to keep within the checks of the law and the Constitution if the Government is to be preserved. And it must rest in the view of the minority that it is much more important that the government should be sustained than that the minority should have for the time being control of or a voice in the government. It rests in the knowledge of the majority that the rights of the minority and the individuals of that minority are exactly as sacred as the rights of the individuals of the majority. Our people exercised government over themselves when they adopted the Constitution of the United States. We don't vote directly under that Constitution. We have a vote which controls the lower House in the selection of the members. We delegate to those members the power to make laws. We do not make them directly. We elect legislatures that elect Senators. Those Senators are re-elected every six years. The members of the House are elected every two years, and then we elect a President every four years. Each one of those little joints between popular expression and will and the embodying of that will in the resultant course of the government, is something which the people voluntarily introduced into our government for what purpose? To enable them to govern themselves, so that the first wave of popular will should not find immediate expression in legislation, but that the people should take time, should discuss the matter, and should have several delays before they accomplish their entire purpose with respect to the government.

The people rule, there is no doubt about that, but they rule according to law and under the Constitution, and they voluntarily and willingly placed the restraints of that Constitution upon themselves in order that they might act with deliberation and with the checks that were sure to secure moderate, clear-headed, well-thought-out politics, and therefore when the American people voted that Constitution and now are maintaining it and supporting it, as I hope they always will, they are governing themselves, and are more to be credited than he that taketh a city.

And finally, even we, or rather even those of the cloth whose place I humbly take at this hour, have learned to govern themselves in this. There was a time in religious history when the man who was in governmental control and had his own theological theory to work out, worked it out by breaking everybody into believing it or else by cutting off the head or burning the body of the man who didn't agree with him. Well, you can reason out pretty logically sometimes that that was the course to be properly taken. And we tried it on both sides. One church and then the other, as it got a chance, took that method of introducing religion into the mind and soul and body of the person thus offered up. After a time there crept into the beliefs and practice of all religions the idea that the way to have religion conquer was to be gentle with views that were contrary to the creed and rely on the arguments and the spirit of the religion to win converts rather than to use the stake and the axe. They overcame that feeling in themselves that they must make their religion conquer by any means, and they took the method that introduced a broad tolerance of all religious creeds and let each creed and each religion speak for itself gently with a message of good will to all humanity; and that is what we have to-day. And that is what I am glad to think is illustrated by this meeting to-day. It means the brotherhood of man as between all Christian religions, the brotherhood of man and the Fatherhood of God. It means tolerance for every belief and every creed that a man honestly and conscientiously entertains. And it means that with that tolerance all the people can be much more surely brought within the circle of those who believe and act upon that belief than by any other method.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION OF THE LAYMEN'S MISSIONARY MOVEMENT IN CONTINENTAL MEMORIAL HALL OF THE DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1909.

MR. PRESIDENT, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE LAYMEN'S MISSIONARY MOVEMENT:—I like to think, whether it be true or not, that we have in this generation reached a somewhat different view of the responsibilities of a civilized nation from that which prevailed in the last generation, especially as applied to our country. It was perhaps natural that when we were engaged in digging into the soil and doing the best we could to make enough to live on, we should fall into the habit of thinking that we were a nation by ourselves, with no responsibilities whatever with respect to the rest of the world. So we have had maxims come down to us, and a construction put upon Washington's farewell address that would still keep us in a place of isolation, and with pleasant remarks and well and politely expressed hopes for the welfare of other peoples, would cause us to devote ourselves entirely to our own improvement. In the days when that principle was announced and was followed with a good deal of care, there was one doctrine which was utterly at variance with it—the Monroe doctrine. That did cause some sort of responsibility and did make us assume some sort of protection over and interest in the independent nations and governments of this hemisphere. That is now enlarged into what I think we may call a definite recognition on the part of our public men that we have a very distinct interest in the welfare, and a very distinct duty with reference to the condition, of the countries of this hemisphere, and that we have exhibited it in what was, I think we may almost say, the only altruistic foreign war that history presents; that in which we fought for the liberties of Cuba and the ending of what we regarded at that time as an international scandal. So we have gone on; we have taken over in a sense a receivership for Santo Domingo; we are helping out that country as well as we may, and we are doing what we can to preserve the peace between the Central American countries; and there lies back in all the history of this continent the possibilities of the heavy obligation resting upon us should unhappiness and chaos arise among any of the people of this hemisphere.

That is one step. The Cuban war illustrated the fact that when you go into a war you never know where you are coming out. We entered lightly—well, not lightly, but with a sense of due gravity, but certainly not with a sense of what the possibilities were—at Key West and at Santiago, and we brought up ten thousand miles away at Manila. Then we had to take over that Government; and we still have it. It has cost us a good deal of money. I had a Democratic Senator ask me the other day how much I thought it cost—"right down between us," he said. Well, I explained to him that the War Department accounts showed, so far as the army was concerned, down to 1902 it had cost us about one hundred and seventy millions of dollars, and that the further cost depended upon how you regarded the army. If you thought we could get along with fifteen to twenty thousand men less than we now had, then the whole cost of these men should be imposed on the cost of our Philippine policy, which would be twenty-five or thirty millions of dollars; but that if you thought we ought to have an army as it is now anyway, it has cost by reason of our Philippine policy upward of six millions of dollars. Perhaps I am a little bit extreme; perhaps my experience in the Philippines has colored my view; but I do not think that the money we have spent in that way, even estimating it at the highest sum, has been wasted in any way. I think it has developed our national character; that it has broadened us into a view of our national responsibility that no other experience could. No one can say—I mean conscientiously say, I mean "right down between us"—that we have been there for the exploitation of our own business. We have been there conscientiously for the betterment of the people of the Philippine Islands; and I am sure we have bettered their condition. We are in the position of many a man who has sought to help another man, and if we go into that sort of thing for undying gratitude we may as well give it up in the beginning. It does not continue and it does not persist, and the only benefit you can get out of it is the consciousness of having tried to do something for another man and the belief that you have, no matter what he thinks about it.

I was thrown into the Philippines against my will—I won't say that, for I am a person I presume who could say yes or no—but I mean I was led into it by another, by that sweet nature, that most engaging character, that lovely man, William McKinley. I know what actuated him and I know that the spirit that actuated him influenced us all—his successor, Theodore Roosevelt; his Secretary of War, Elihu Root, and all who had the good fortune to serve under those great men. In the control and government of those islands I first came to be aware of the importance of foreign missions; and, if I may say so, I think there is a strong analogy between the spirit that leads a nation into what we have done in Cuba, in Santo Domingo and in the Philippines, and that movement which I am glad to see growing stronger and stronger—the movement in favor of foreign missions. The Philippine Islands themselves are an example of what ancient foreign missions could do. They are the only people, the only race, in the Orient that are Christians, and they were made so three hundred years ago by the earnest efforts of Augustinian and Franciscan friars. They led them on, taught them the agricultural arts, and led them on to a peaceful and religious life. They did not believe in too much education; they did not believe in bringing them into close communion with the European nations. They thought there was a good deal they might learn there that would hurt them. But that which they wrought has been to our great advantage in working out the problem that we are set to there, the problem of teaching them self-government. They are a Christian people, and they look to Europe and America for their ideals, and they recognize those ideals, and that makes it possible to instill in them the principles of civil liberty and the freedom of our institutions. Now there came about in the islands what is perfectly natural with the prevalence of one denomination, and the division between the Spanish and the native priesthood led to a great deal of demoralization in the church, and led to its taking on a very strong political character. The condition has greatly improved since we went in there, in that regard, because of course we carried with us entire freedom of religion. That has led to the sending in of missionaries of other than the Roman Catholic denomination, and has brought about a spirit of emulation and competition that makes for the good of the entire islands and for all the churches. But the operation of the foreign missions there, the effect upon the people, the influence upon the people which the church exerts and without which the Government could carry on but few of its reforms, all impress themselves upon a man charged with the responsibility of civil government in those islands.

In the Orient I could not but take an interest in what occurred on the mainland. The Philippine Islands are about sixty-six hours from Hong-Kong, but here we are apt to associate them all together. Distances there do not seem quite so great as they do here, and you do come closer to China when you are in the Philippines than when you are here. We could, those of us who were in the Orient, study somewhat the Chinese question, study somewhat the movements that were going on in that great Empire of four hundred millions of people; and the chief movement that was going on was a movement that found its inspiration, that had its progress, in the foreign missions that have been sent there to introduce Christian civilization among that people. I do not hesitate to say that, because I am convinced of the fact. They are the outposts of the Christian civilization. Each missionary, with his house and his staff, forms a nucleus about which gathers an influence far in excess of the numerical list of the converts. They have a political influence, an influence upon the Government of China itself, upon the Viceroys of China, who exercise so much power there that we do not understand. The development of China to-day, and her budding out as she is, and as I hope she will continue to do, is largely the result of, first, the missionary movement, and then the education in America and elsewhere, under the influence of these missionaries, of young Chinamen who are anxious that their country shall take the position that her wealth, and numbers, and resources, and possibilities, and history justify. The same thing is true, though I am not so familiar with it, in regard to Africa. The men who take their lives in their hands and go among the natives are entitled to be called the outposts of civilization. They have been criticized, and I presume that is something that is common to human kind: they have been held up to contempt at times. I have read one book by a very distinguished author who visited China and thought it wise to poke fun at what he called the assumed self-sacrifice of the missionaries in China. But I am glad to say—I have not seen it myself, but I understand—that the author has withdrawn all these implications and all of this criticism of the men who are fighting for the cause of civilization in that great country. You visit a Chinese mission—I mean a denominational mission in China from this country or Great Britain—and you find a large house, you find a considerable staff, you find as near comfort as they can have in a country that does not know what Occidental comfort is; but you find upon examination that they have to go out among the sick, they have to pursue their course of life far away from friends and homes; they have to undergo that homesickness that no one understands until he has been ten thousand miles away from home and is longing just to breathe in the smoke of his own home, dirty as it is, in order that he may know that he is near where he grew up. The lives they lead, the good they do, and the fact that they represent the highest of our civilization, make it so important that they should be sent, with all the instruments of usefulness possible, into those far distant places.

I sincerely hope that the result of this movement will give to the foreign missions an impetus that, with due respect to our clerical brethren, it can not have unless the whole body of good men in the community press forward. I have spoken of it solely from the laymen's standpoint and not from the purely religious standpoint; but I have spoken the things that I think I know, and I am here not so much to talk as to express by my presence the sympathy I have with the movement that you have so successfully inaugurated.

ADDRESS OF HON. WM. H. TAFT BEFORE THE Y. M. C. A., DAYTON, OHIO, MAY 28, 1907.

Ladies and Gentlemen of Dayton:—It is my great good fortune that an engagement of a year's standing has brought me to southwestern Ohio at such a time as to be present upon the occasion of dedicating this great new building in your beatiful city to the high purposes of the Young Men's Christian Association. The ample proportions of this building, and its necessarily great cost, furnish the clearest evidence of the generous support which the association receives from the people of Dayton. And the reason is not far to seek. It has doubtless demonstrated in this community as elsewhere that it is one of the best instrumentalities for assisting those whose circumstances deny them a comfortable home and prevent them from enjoying at home the rational amusements and useful occupations of their leisure hours which are available generally to the more fortunate of the community.

The great advantage of the institution is, that after long experience it has come to be conducted on the most approved business principles. And while it furnishes, on the one hand, an opportunity for the contributions of those who love their fellowmen, it furnishes, on the other, an example of assistance to those who need assistance which is not extravagant or excessive and which does not discourage self-help by creating a spirit of dependence in those who enjoy the benefits which it offers.

The world has improved greatly in fraternal brotherhood and in assistance which the more fortunate extend to those less fortunate. But no problem in our whole social life is more difficult than that represented to one who wishes to give money to aid his fellowman without doing him more injury than good. The instances of ill-advised generosity are as many, almost, as the instances of ill-advised investments.

And when we find an institution which has worked out the problem of materially aiding our fellowmen in the struggles of life without injuring their self-respect and without discouraging their self-support toward better things, we have something that we should certainly prize.

Another characteristic of the association is its nonsectarian religious quality. It believes in the Christian religion but is tolerant, liberal in its scope, and knows no denomination, no race, no politics. The truth is, the growth of the Young Men's Christian Association has been an evidence of, and at the same time an assistance to, the growth of the spirit of Christian tolerance among all denominations. We are all more tolerant to-day than formerly. I never was so fully conscious of this fact as when the question arose which had become intensely acute in the Philippine Islands in regard to the continued ownership of a large body of agricultural lands by certain religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church. By circumstances not really connected with religion at all but growing out of political conditions, the Catholic people of the Islands had been aroused to bitter hostility against the continued ownership of these lands by the religious orders, and with the restoration of peace and the resort to the courts (to which the orders would have been entitled) for the collection of rents or the eviction of 60,000 tenants, the prospect of a new insurrection was immediate, and the solution which offered itself was, that the government should buy these lands from the Friars and then sell them on easy terms to the present tenants. In order to bring this about, however, it was necessary to secure the consent of the head of the Roman Catholic Church, and it was thought wise, therefore, to send a representative to Rome to confer with Leo XIII upon this question, in order, if possible, to bring about a friendly and amicable solution. But it was seriously objected that the Protestant denominations of the country will resent deeply the establishment even temporarily of what might seem to be diplomatic relations with a church. Finally, the President, after consulting the representatives of the leading Protestant denominations, counted upon the good sense and religious tolerance of the people of the United States, and concluded to follow the ordinary business principle that when one wishes to accomplish a result he should deal directly with the person having the power effectually to agree upon the result desired, and a representative was sent. The business, after much negotiation both at Rome and at Manila, was finally concluded, and no persons were more considerate of the difficulties presented and sympathetic with the policy adopted to meet them by the President than the Protestant demoninations whose opposition had been feared. I venture to think that 50 years ago such a result would not have followed, and that the motives of the government and of the President would have been misunderstood or misconstrued. I regard that as one striking instance of the greater brotherhood that now exists between the great Christian denominations —a brotherhood that finds no more eloquent proof than the continued prosperity and the growth in influence and power of the Young Men's Christian Association which dedicates this building to-day.

The Young Men's Christian Association has come to be recognized as a powerful and necessary factor, both in business and in government matters. All railroad men with whom one comes in contact speak in the highest terms of what the Association is doing for the elevation and assistance of railroad employes in creating healthful home influences for them. The railroad companies find it to their pecuniary interest to erect and fit up expensive structures for the rational, physical, intellectual and moral amusement and entertainment of their employes on each division and to put them under the control of the Young Men's Christian Association. So Congress, in its wisdom, has given authority to the Secretary of War, in an act passed May, 1902, to grant permission, by revocable license, to the Young Men's Christian Association to maintain on the military reservations in the United States and in its island possessions such buildings as their work for the promotion of intellectual, physical and moral welfare of the garrisons may require, under such regulations as the Secretary of War may approve; and under date of May 7, 1904, the Secretary of War directed that permission be granted to the Army Young Men's Christian Association to establish its work at the various posts of the army of the United States and in the Island of Porto Rico and the Philippines, and commanding officers were enjoined to facilitate the efforts of the Association to provide healthful physical, intellectual, and nonsectarian religious influences by providing therefor suitable quarters, which might be in the post exchange building, if rooms there were available and their use for such purpose was deemed wise by the commanding officer. This permission has been availed of by the Young Men's Christian Association at a great many posts, and it is doing excellent work in furnishing to the soldiers of our army the opportunity to enjoy their leisure hours in healthful and moral physical and intellectual entertainment and amusement.

But nowhere is the opportunity for usefulness of the Young Men's Christian Association greater than among Americans in the Philippines, Porto Rico, Cuba and on the Isthmus of Panama. It is inevitable that a great many of the Americans who go first to our tropical dependencies, a long distance from the United States, should be wandering and irresponsible. And it is also inevitable that many men who are staid and upright and of good habits at home, when they go to tropical cities far away from home, should yield to the temptation of drinking, gambling and other dissipations, because during their idle hours in those remote countries there seems to be nothing else to do. A striking illustration of the truth of the maxim "The devil finds some work for idle hands to do," is found in the demoralization of many Americans who first settle in our foreign dependencies. The loss of vitality, and the depression produced by the continued high temperature, so common to persons brought up in a temperate zone, while living in the tropics, make a greater temptation to seek relief in stimulants than in this country, and the absence of anything else to do leads on to a continuance in the indulgence until a habit formed is even more destructive of the physical and moral character of the individual than it is here. There are no attractive theatres. There are but few places of amusement of any kind. Libraries are insufficient. Home amusements are wanting. And is it any wonder, under these conditions, that many Americans wander from the path of rectitude and morality?

This is not only unfortunate for themselves, but it is especially unfortunate from a public standpoint, in view of what we are trying to do with those tropical peoples in the Philippines. We are seeking to give them capacity for self-government. We are seeking to do that by educating them, by teaching them American institutions, and by inculcating in them, as far as we may, admiration for and a desire to imitate our civilization. Of course, there are a number of people among the natives who resent this purpose, and who strongly assert that they have a civilization quite equal to ours, and in this way seek to divert their people from that path along which we would lead them. Nothing contributes more to the support of the views of these opponents of our plans of progress than the presence in Manila and other cities and towns of dissolute Americans whose example is anything but edifying, and who form an object lesson to enforce the claim made by our opponents that there is nothing of value in American civilization for them to follow. Their people are generally a temperate people, as most tropical people are, while northern people in the tropics are not infrequently given to intemperance.

Now, the way to avoid this result is, to furnish a place in which the leisure hours of Americans in these dependencies can be passed in rational, elevating and moral pursuits and entertainments. The Young Men's Christian Association is one of the most effective instruments to this end that we have. The Young Men's Christian Association went out with the army in 1898, and has been in Manila ever since. I am glad to say that it is increasing its influence by increasing its plants, increasing the number of agents who represent it, and sending there men of the highest experience and energy and enthusiasm.

Recently Mr. Mott, of the Association, raised in this country $80,000 for the construction of a building in Manila on condition that $40,000 should be added to the $80,000 for this purpose by the citizens of Manila. It speaks highly of the public spirit of the Americans and others in Manila and for the energy of the agents who represent the Association in Manila that in a very few days after the offer became known, although business conditions are by no means highly prosperous, $42,000 were raised and the generous enterprise has become a completed thing. The munificence of the donors was met by the public spirit of the people of Manila, and we shall now have, in that far distant oriental city, a great Christian club which will keep men from drinking, gambling and other forms of vice, by offering them an opportunity to spend their unoccupied hours in a home atmosphere, surrounded by the best influences.

Again, we are constructing a great canal across the Isthmus of Panama. We have now introduced into that Zone, 40 miles long by ten miles wide but for all practical purposes not more than a mile wide, about 30,000 people, of whom perhaps 7,000 are Americans. They are in a tropical climate, with an absence of rational amusements, and with all the temptations to dissipation and degradation to which a new community like that under tropical skies is exposed.

Appreciating that, and believing that no measure could be better directed to secure good work, honest work, by honest and moral people, than through instrumentalities which should prevent the employees of the Canal Commission from yielding to the temptation to lead dissolute and dissipated lives, the Commission has constructed four club houses, at Culebra, Empire, Gorgona, and Cristobal. They are all alike in design. They provide a front building of two stories connected with a rear building of one story. The front building, which will be 313 feet by 45 feet, will contain a social parlor, a card room, a billiard room, and a writing room on the first floor, and an assembly hall 67 feet by 27 feet, free from any columns, on the second floor. The rear building, which will be 100 feet by 28 feet, will contain double bowling alleys 100 feet long, a gymnasium 52 feet long, shower baths, and over a hundred single lockers. A comprehensive plan has been devised whereby the Commission, working in conjunction with the Young Men's Christian Association, will manage these and other similar buildings in the chief labor centers. The Commission has appointed as secretaries of these four club houses four gentlemen who are identified with the Young Men's Christian Association. The Commission has also appointed as superintendent of club houses a gentleman who went to the Isthmus as a representative of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association. The Commission pays the salaries of these men and furnishes the houses, and will give them proper libraries. I do not think there is any action of the Commission that will do more to assist in carrying on the work of canal construction intelligently and energetically than the expenditure of the money for the purposes I have enumerated. And the excellence of the results will be made possible by the use of those men who have been trained in the work of the Young Men's Christian Association and who represent that Association on the Isthmus.

Some question has been raised as to whether the expenditure of this money was within the authority of the Commission. I haven't the slightest doubt about it. The authority of the President in the construction of the canal is to build the canal, and he has therefore the right to expend the money in any way necessary in the pursuit of that purpose. This is a great enterprise, involving the moving to this strip which connects the two oceans in the far distant tropics of a colony of from 30,000 to 50,000 people. To render them efficient for the purpose for which they are transported there, it is absolutely necessary that they be surrounded with the influences and furnished with the attractions necessary to keep them in a moral and physical state which will make them efficient laborers, to the end which the Government has in view in expending these millions. And I have not hesitated, therefore, not only to authorize the construction of these club houses under the auspices of the Young Men's Christian Association, but also to confirm the action of the Commission in the payment of chaplains of different denominations who officiate in the church services held in the buildings of the Association in the various labor centers across the Isthmus.

For these reasons have I come to bear testimony to the greatness of the Association whose strength and usefulness this beautiful building typifies. It is only one of many evidences to be found all over this country, in the far distant Philippines, on the Isthmus of Panama, in Cuba, and in Porto Rico, of the great work which the Association is doing in the moral elevation of American manhood.

ADDRESS OF HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT AT THE DEDICATION OF THE McKINLEY MEMORIAL ORGAN AT THE METROPOLITAN TEMPLE, NEW YORK CITY, SUNDAY EVENING, DECEMBER 13, 1908.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I heard Dr. Hill say tonight that he was a very poor beggar. That is an instance of self-depreciation. When the doctor said he was going to dedicate an organ, made possible through the generosity of Mr. Carnegie, in memory of William McKinley, he said: "Of course, you will help us." Well, the doctor and I were out trying to convince recalcitrant voters of the same thing, and it was a peculiarly suitable occasion for him to make the suggestion. It was very difficult for me to yield, but I did yield, and I judge from that adaptation of time and circumstance to the accomplishment of purpose that Dr. Hill then displayed, that he has facilities for getting things that he does not beg for and therefore does not need to be a beggar. But I sympathize very deeply with Dr. Hill's work here and with the work that this tabernacle is doing, and I sincerely hope that his aspiration for an endowment, which shall make everybody happy in this part of the city, will be satisfied, even if it takes one or two more meetings of this kind, distributed through the next Presidential term. Although I say now that I can not come, I am sure I will be here.

As he painted a picture of the night which he wished to develop, it did seem to me that it was exceedingly appropriate that a man who loves music as our friend—for everybody must call Mr. Carnegie "our friend"—for he is a friend of all of us—all we have to do is to reciprocate—don't misunderstand me—not a literal reciprocation—it is exceedingly appropriate that a man who loves music would make it possible that this organ should be here dedicated to a man like William McKinley, whose whole soul was one of harmony. There is nothing that suggests his whole character as that harmonious relation with his fellowmen, with his family, with his God and with his country. He bent every effort to make that note of harmony always sound wherever his influence extended.

He had a face that could be made by caricature or an artist to look something like that of Napoleon. It was, as you know, a frequent suggestion; both had fine outlines, but the character of the two men was so absolutely different that the suggestion was really only a surface one, and only a passing impression. Napoleon was a man most peremptory and decided in his methods and strong of will beyond anything then known. McKinley was a man strong of will but absolutely without the mandatory peremptory character that were known in Napoleon. Mc-

Kinley accomplished his purpose over men and over things, but largely through their voluntary acquiescence in his will.

The thing that came over you when you dealt with McKinley was his sweetness.

Colonel McCook said, or perhaps it was Mr. Carnegie, that he had never heard of a word of impatience coming from his lips and that he never knew him to be angry. I knew him pretty well, and I never knew him to be angry but once, and that was when somebody was threatening him that if he did not do a certain thing with reference to his policy in the Philippines, that he did not think it was the right thing to do, he would lose the nomination for the second term. The dispatch that was sent in reply was mild. While it was parliamentary and diplomatic in language, it left no doubt what McKinley thought of the sender. There was no impatience, there was not any indirection, but it was an expression of opinion on the issue presented.

Major McKinley was a great judge of men. I did not quite realize how great a judge of men he was until I had to select a cabinet of my own. He always seemed to be sure of his men. No matter how positive the information was brought to him that the man whom he wished for a particular job would not accept it, he never was discouraged. He said: "I will get him," and so far as I know, he always did. I know that he was told positively that he could not get the greatest Secretary of War we ever had—I hardly except Stanton—Elihu Root. Elihu Root went over to Washington determined to decline, but he went back as Secretary of War, and so it was his influence over men, his power of receiving a man into his cabinet. That description of putting a man down into the seat of the Secretary of State was perfectly characteristic. He would give him a carnation, he would send a kindly word to his wife, and the man coming to ask for an office and going out without it would feel much greater gratitude toward McKinley than many a man who had left other Presidents with the commission in his pocket. He breathed out in his manner with men the sweetness that he felt and had toward the whole world. He never would cultivate animosities or hostilities. He was always ready to forgive. He had, more than any President I know, greater power in dealing with both houses of Congress. He had been for a long time a member of the House of Representatives and understood the slightest motive that would govern any member of that House, and so it was with the Senate. They all were anxious to do what he wished, and when they could not do it, they were all disappointed.

He was a lover of peace throughout his nature, and yet he had more wars than any President since Lincoln. Does not Fate play tricks with us? Are not the ways of Providence mysterious? To think that a man who loved peace as Lincoln did, as peaceful a man as Garfield was, and as McKinley was, should be taken off as they were by the hand of the assassin, and that two of them should have had upon their souls and minds the responsibilities of those wars: Lincoln the Civil War, and McKinley three wars, for there were three wars: the Spanish war, the Philippine war, and the Boxer war.

Reference has been made to Major McKinley's knowledge of war. As a matter of fact, he conducted the Spanish war. He took full charge of the War Department and was always there to receive telegrams and to issue telegrams governing the movements of the troops. You all remember how the hotheads of the Government were anxious to bring on the Spanish war, and that a majority of our people felt that the international scandal at our doors required action by us, and that in their happy-go-lucky confidence in Providence and in our national deserts, we were ready to go into war without knowing whether we were prepared or not, that we could whip a nation. You all know how martial we were when Mr. Cleveland sent in that Venezuela message. We had just one gun down here at Sandy Hook, and that was the only one on the whole coast line from Maine clear down to Texas and from California to Washington, to resist the British navy; but the Lord looked after us, as He does after children and drunken men. I hope those lessons have not been lost.

But McKinley knew how unprepared we were, even to fight a power equally unprepared as Spain was, and so he used all his influence with Congress to put off, and I think in his heart, if he could, to avoid the war with Spain, and he only let it come on when he could not prevent the onrush. When it became necessary for him to lead, then he did lead, and he led to a purpose.

Again, in the Boxer war, we were a little better prepared, and we entered into that war with the rest of the nations to save the butchery of our legations.

Then in the Spanish war, and that brings me to that relation in which I knew President McKinley best. I was walking up and down the floor of the consultation room of the Circuit Court of the United States one day in February, 1900, trying to dictate an opinion—not one of those that got me into trouble afterward—when a boy came in and handed me a telegram, and it read this wise: "If you have not any other engagement you would oblige me very much if you would call on me in Washington next week. Please let me know the day." There was not any vacancy on the Supreme Court at that time and I could not imagine what the occasion for that summons was, but I went, and when I entered the cabinet room Mr. McKinley and Secretary Long of the navy were there, and Secretary Root was sent for. I said: "I came, Mr. President, in answer to your telegram. I would like to know the occasion for the call." He said: "Well, judge, I would like to have you go to the Philippines." Said I: "Mr. President, what do you mean by 'going to the Philippines?' " He said: "We must establish a government out there, and I would like to have you help me do it." "But, Mr. President," I said, "I am sorry you have got the Philippines. I don't want them, and I think you ought to have a man who is in sympathy with taking them over." "Well," he said, "you don't want them any less than I do, but we have got them and I think in dealing with them I can trust a man that did not want them in the beginning better than I can a man that did." Well, you can readily understand the feeling of a man whose only ambition was to go to Washington and find a cushion on a bench, to be asked to go 10,000 miles away from home. But Mr. Root came over and between him and Mr. McKinley I had a feeling when I went out of that room that if there was another vote in favor of that thing, that vote being cast by one who is denied suffrage at home, but who exercises equal power, that I would probably go to the Philippines with her, and I did. I went there under the influence of William McKinley's wonderful personality in making people do what he thought they ought to do in the interest of the public. He said to me: "Now, I am going to stand by you out there. You will be criticized. You will have a great deal of trouble on the one hand and the other, but I am going to stand by you, and I am going to appoint or allow you to appoint anybody out there in that government that you think will serve you well, and you will not get a single man appointed by me or through the influence of Washington on political grounds. I want you to understand that we know what that business is out there and that we are going to support you." And he did.

After we had a government established there, there were a great many patriots in Washington who thought the people at home, whom they knew, who had not succeeded very well at home, might develop wonderful abilities if you could only get them 10,000 miles away from home. They would come to Major McKinley and suggest it. I know this because it happened several times. They would say: "Well, I have got a man who will make you an excellent judge in the Philippines; he is not the kind of a man to get a good practice at home; I have understood he is a first-class lawyer and some of my powerful constituents would like to have him go." The Major would say: "Now, you know I would like to accommodate you; you know my feeling toward you, but I want to state a proposition to you. I asked these five gentlemen to go out to the Philippines to do the best they could with something that I know, and what they thought, was a very difficult job, and I agreed with them that I would not appoint a single man except on their recommendation. Now you would not ask me to go back on that promise." Each time the man went away feeling that there was some reason that distinguished the Philippines from other parts of the country and that possibly the merits of his friend ought to be tried out nearer at home.

There is one thing about good nature and sweetness of temper; they are given by Providence, but they depend a good deal on the digestion. Major McKinley's good nature and sweetness of temper went much further than that acquiescence, that mere indisposition to make a fuss in things that are, because one is perhaps a little too lazy, it was an affirmative sweetness. He was always thoughtful, as his cabinet officers can testify; he was always inquiring as to the members of their families; he was always sending a little tribute to this one or that one. It never was that he did not have always in his mind the making happier, the smoothing out of life for those who came under his influence, for those for whom in a sense he was responsible. That is what tact is, and he had tact in a more wonderful degree than any man I ever knew.

I was going on to-night even in the presence of Mr. Carnegie to speak of the Philippine problem and his views in respect to it, but Brother Carnegie and I differ on the Philippine problem. McKinley's idea, and it is his idea that we have been carrying out, was that we should go out there and, to use his own expression, carry out a policy of "benevolent assimilation." That has been made the basis for a great deal of criticism and ridicule, because in order to put those islands in a condition where that policy or any government indeed could be carried out, we had to fight a war and we had to bring about tranquillity by exercise of the sword. It was a source of great agony to McKinley that that instrumentality had to be used. He had hoped, from the testimony given at the time of the Paris treaty, that it would not be necessary o do so. Ultimately the work was accomplished and to-day we are trying to carry out in every respect that which McKinley would have had us carry out had he lived—a policy of the utmost interest in the welfare of those people, of an earnest desire to uplift them, and teach them by actual practice in partial self-government and by the spread of education among them, to bring them up to a point where they shall be able ultimately to govern themselves. Now it has been contended that no nation ever intervened for another nation to the betterment of that nation. That is a question of argument. I think it is necessary for us to stay there in order to benefit those people. Ninety per cent. of them to-day—7,000,000 out of 8,000,000—are in a state of Christian tutelage, and are densely ignorant. In my judgment we cannot hope to improve that densely ignorant part by education, but only to improve the next generation or the rising generation among them. They are manifesting a very great interest in education. It is pathetic to see the desire of the taos, as they are called, the farming element, who are unable to read and write, but who, nevertheless, are sending their children to school and making every effort and sacrifice to send them there in order that they may learn English and learn the industrial education which we are trying to spread among them. We are limited, of course, in our resources, and limited therefore in the extent to which we can give them the benefit of this education, but there are to-day reading, writing and reciting in English in those islands upwards of half a million Filipino children. My own feeling is—perhaps I am wrong in that—that the people themselves, as we are extending to them more and more self-government—we have given them now a popular assembly—are becoming interested in the development of the government and are seeking to vindicate, as far as they may, their growing capacity by making that assembly a respectable body. It is a burden on us. It will continue to be a burden on us, of perhaps from five millions to ten millions annually, but my idea is with respect to that, and it was the idea of President McKinley, for we all took our ideas with respect to the Philippines from him, that where Providence has thrust upon us a people like that, we are just as much charged with aiding them in the best way possible as a man upon whom Providence has conferred fortune in a community properly feels himself charged to help the helpless and the unfortunate. The experiment we are trying is an experiment. I am not speaking with the confidence and certainty of a man who knows that we are going to be successful, but I am speaking with the confidence that comes from having watched that progress in the movement that we are carrying on there. The whole success must depend on our good faith in carrying out an altruistic policy in holding those islands for the benefit of the Filipinos. The moment we allow selfish reasons and motives of exploitation to enter into our treament of those islands, and deny those people in any way that which they are entitled to, and benefit ourselves at their expense, then we have departed from the faith and we have destroyed the premises upon which William McKinley based his judgment that that experiment was one which, under the providence of God, we were obliged to undertake, and one which he believed we could carry to success.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE LOYAL LEGION CONVENTION, MASONIC TEMPLE, CINCINNATI, OHIO, MAY 3, 1910.

My Friends:—It seems to me I have enjoyed to-day almost more than any other day of my life. Coming back here for only a few hours, it has been given to me to see a great many of those who were near and dear to me in years gone by, and who only grow dearer as the years go on.

It is a great pleasure for me to come here and see among these—I hope General Grosvenor will forgive me if I say "grizzled"—faces, friends of mine of years. I suppose—indeed, it is natural—that those of you who are veterans should think it a little strange that the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy never smelt gunpowder. But, as the Chairman says, I was born in 1857, and when the Spanish War came on I am afraid I could not have been admitted on account of my weight. So you will have to take me just as a civilian, with an intense interest, however, in all that has gone to make this country great and in those wars which have been the evidence of deep-seated patriotism, and a willingness to make the utmost sacrifice to save the country and to make her great.

This Commandery, as I understand it, has a great many distinguished men in it. Ohio, in the war, was certainly remarkable for the commanders which she furnished to the Union Army, and the pictures that I see about me here confirm that judgment.

It is a pleasure to come back to one's home, especially when you have been in Washington and have been gently chided for your shortcomings, and to snuggle up close to those who are fond of you and who have a respect for you whatever happens, and who believe that, however great the obstacles and however severe in other parts of the country they may be, you are doing the best you can.

Now, my friends, you veterans are not the only ones who have gray hair and bald heads. We are all getting in that condition. We are all getting beyond the time when we can call ourselves young. The truth is, as time goes on, it seems to wipe out the difference that 10 and 15 and 20 years make; and those who, by reason of strength, can continue on are just about as young as—and perhaps a little younger—than those of us who really came later on, but still give evidence of the coming of years.

I assume that there is no association that is closer—none that you cherish with greater fondness—than that of the comradeship of arms.

The fact that during four years you were all exposed to the same danger, were all fighting for the same government, and inspired with the same feeling of patriotism, brings you together in a way that those of us who have not had that experience hardly understand the bond. And I congratulate you that into your lives has entered that element that has made life sweeter to you, and that is, I hope, a reward for the sacrifices that you have made. I thank you, my dear friends, for your very cordial reception.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE BEDFORD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, BROOKLYN, N. Y., JUNE 8, 1911.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—As I look at these faces here and go about the streets of Brooklyn, I am sincerely sorry that I haven't in my life the sweet traditions that must have grown up in the life of every Brooklyn man over these annual Sunday School observances. It must be one to which you all cling. It must be the basis for enthusiasm in your schools. It is a thing that you never will give up because its advantage grows on you each year.

Now, with respect to Sunday Schools, there are a great many reasons why you should attend them; but I would speak to the young men and the young women who are old enough to understand the importance of literature and history, and I would urge upon them the necessity for close attention to the lessons that are learned and taught in Sunday Schools, the study of the Bible, the study of the history of the people, the study of its literature—all those things will form in future life a wealth of possession for you that you can not now at your present age understand. The men who speak with most telling effect are those who are able to command illustrations from Holy Writ, who are familiar with the stories of Holy Writ, and who can tell them to their audiences. They are the ones who understand the force of that Book. And it is in Sunday School where you get the opportunity that you will never have again in your busy lives to familiarize yourselves with the history that it teaches, with its literature, and with its lessons.

I do not mean to say, and I should be lacking in appreciation if I did say it, that that was the chief benefit from Sunday School experience. Of course, the great one is the laying of the foundation of a moral and religious character. But to the older students, the young men and the young women, this is something that I would impress upon them, because they will realize before they grow much older, the opportunities that they lost if they have not studied well that Book which is the Book of all others in Sunday School education.

I thank you, my dear boys and girls, for listening to me thus much without paying attention to anything else, but I am afraid I haven't the talent of the Sunday School teacher to keep your attention longer. Goodbye and God bless you!

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT A MASS MEETING IN CELEBRATION OF THE DIAMOND JUBILEE OF METHODIST EPISCOPAL MISSIONS IN AFRICA, AT CARNEGIE HALL, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 13, 1909.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—I am very glad to be here to bear witness to my very great interest in that which this meeting celebrates—the attack of the Methodist Church upon Africa. I like to think of Methodism among the denominations as an affirmative, aggressive, pushing, practical church militant, and it needed to be that to tackle Africa. Since I have had the honor to occupy public office, it has fallen to me to address meetings of many different churches, and I always seize the opportunity, when invited to any other church than my own, and I hope I don't leave out my own, to be present, because I like to feel and imbibe in my nature the sense of tolerance and increase in the feeling of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man among all the denominations of the churches; and my own reception by churches, not my own, makes me feel certian of the growing and wide catholicity of the Christian Church. Doubtless it is because I was not aroused to the importance of the missionary spirit, and the great things that were being done years ago, that it seems to me that it is only within recent times that this missionary feeling has taken such a hold upon the people.

I have observed that each man dates the spread of public opinion on a particular subject from the time that he began to think of it; but the history of our country does offer a date and an epoch when it seems to me that the people of the United States acquired a wider and a world feeling, and an interest and a responsibility for all the people of the world, as distinguished from those who enjoy our opportunities of living under the Stars and Stripes.

It is not perhaps appropriate to date a religious movement from a war, but it does seem to me as if our people acquired a world feeling from the time we undertook the responsibility of freeing Cuba and saying what should be done by our neighbors with reference to internal government when that internal government seemed to us to pass the bounds of what we thought to be civilized. We began our war expecting to finish it shortly, and we landed in the Philippines and we are still there. But our horizon has widened much beyond those gems of the Pacific Ocean by reason of the responsibilities which we have been obliged to assume with reference to the entire world. We are a great power in the world, and we may be, and I hope we are, a great power for usefulness, a great power for the spread of Christian civilization. We must be so if we would justify our success and vindicate our right to enjoy the opportunities that God has given us in this fair, broad land of building of wealth and comfort and luxury and education and making ourselves, what we like to think we are, the foremost people of the world.

There are those who would read the last words of Washington in his Farewell Message as an indication that we ought to keep within the seas and not look beyond; but he was addressing thirteen States that had much to do before they could make themselves a great nation and that might well avoid entangling alliances, or any foreign interference, or any foreign trouble, while they were making themselves a nation.

But now we are a nation with tremendous power and tremendous wealth, and unless we use that for the benefit of our international neighbors (and they are all neighbors of ours, for the world is very small) unless we use that power and that wealth, we are failing to discharge the duties that we ought to feel as members of the international community. This world is very small. It is only 10,000 miles to the Philippines, and I am carried back, as I look into the face of my brother, Homer Stuntz, to many a platform that he and I sat upon in the Philippines and talked about the possibilities of what we might do in developing those islands and bringing those people to a realization of what good government was. But it is true that when you live in the Philippines, 10,000 miles away from here, and meet people coming and going, see people on the streets of Washington that you met in Mindanao, or in Luzon, or in Panay, or in Iloilo, and shake hands with them as if it were only yesterday when you last saw them, the world does not seem very wide around. And so I can understand, though I don't quite have the feeling, that Africa is not so dark, is not so far away from anything that one would wish to be in when your interest is excited, when your knowledge is full of the needs of the 160,000,000 of people who are in that continent, and of the possibilities of developing them into a Christian people who shall learn after a time all the arts of peace, and learn to govern themselves.

I confess, if I were a missionary, I would prefer to try my hand in a country like China that has a history of two or three or four or five thousand years, than to go into Africa that hasn't any history at all except that which we trace to the apes. But you can not read the account of the missions that your church is carrying on in that continent without knowing that there is the seed which is to lead those people on to be useful citizens and useful members of the community and of the world. Now, as I understand it, the Methodist Church has taken the continent in front and rear at Madeira, at Algiers, in Arcola, in Portuguese East Africa, and in Rhodesia, and that there are missions and a stream of them in which the practical, sensible methods of modern missionaries have been adopted, and accompanying instruction in the Christian religion and the leading on to Christian civilization, of lessons in agriculture, in the simple mechanical arts, in primary education, and in leading them on to feel that debt of gratitude which reaches a native's heart as nothing else can, the ministrations of the physician when the dear ones of those native savages seem about to be taken away.

The mission is a nucleus, an epitome, of the civilization that is expected to widen out in that neighborhood. I have heard missions criticised. I have heard men say that they would not contribute to foreign missions at all; that we had wicked people enough at home and we might just as well leave the foreign natives and savages to pursue their own happy lives in the forests and look after our own who need a great deal of ministration. I have come to regard that as narrow-minded as a man who does not like music, who does not understand the things that God has provided for the elevation of the human race. The missionaries in China and the missionaries in Africa are the forerunners of our civilization, and without them we should have no hope of conquering the love and the admiration and the respect of the millions of people that we hope to bring under the influence of Christian civilization.

A man who goes into Africa as a missionary goes into a place where he must be content to put up with all sorts of sacrifices and a very possible death from the malignant fevers that he is constantly exposed to, unless he goes clear into the interior on to the table lands. I admire the missionaries who go to India and China and the Philippines, because I know they are doing good work, and I know that they have many sacrifices to make; but the men whom I wish most to commend are those who in the face of all obstacles that certainly tend to discourage the bravest, enter the dark continent of Africa in an attempt to win these people to Christianity and civilization.

It is curious to see how the Almighty works His ways. Our interest in Africa for many years was the interest to suppress the slave trade. We were all responsible—New England got out of it a little earlier than the rest—for a time in the encouragement of that trade. And now we have living with us ten millions of people who are descended from the slaves that were taken by force—the negroes that were taken by force from that dark continent, taken with all the cruelties incident to the middle passage; and yet no one would say that the descendants of those people thus brought here are not to be congratulated on the fact that their ancestors were brought here, so that they have been able to enjoy the proximity to civilization, so that they are a hundred years in advance of their relatives in Africa; and yet they came here by the greed and the sin of those for whom we, by reason of ancestry, must be responsible. I think that is a very curious working out of the ways of God that no one could have anticipated. It is natural that the negroes of America, who have had the advantage of an association in a Christian country, with modern civilization, so that they are civilized and educated, should yet retain an intense interest in the development of the continent from which their ancestors came; and I am glad to note the fact that there is an interest among the race, both as to Liberia and the maintenance of that Republic, and this missionary movement through the dark continent, to bring all the black races into Christian civilization.

Now, my friends, I have a cold. I ought not to have spoken at all to-night, because I haven't any information about Africa that you haven't got; but I have got into the habit of speaking at foreign mission meetings, and the managers of the meetings think that there is something missing in the support of the government unless I appear to testify in my insufficient and inadequate way to the interest that the country all has in the success of this movement. Now, my dear friend, Bishop Hartzell, I hope has realized what he came here to bring about, and I hope he will take back in his pocket that $300,000 that is necessary to aid him in the great work he is there carrying on. I wish he had $3,000,000 instead of $300,000, but it is a good deal easier to wish it than to get it; and if we have gotten $300,000, we ought to be as smiling and as happy in the thought of the good that will do as possible.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE BANQUET OF THE CONSTITUTION GRAND LODGE, INDEPENDENT ORDER OF B'NAI B'RITH, ARLINGTON HOTEL, WASHINGTON, D. C., APRIL 6, 1910.

MR. CHAIRMAN, MR. TOASTMASTER, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE B'NAI B'RITH:—It is a great pleasure to be here and to welcome to Washington so important a society. We haven't any Mayor in Washington. We only have a District Commission, and so the President is drafted in to act the part of a Mayor at Washington. I am not here to make a speech. I am only here to try and make you welcome in the National Capital.

We have great plans for Washington, and I hope they will develop Certainly there is every prospect that the beauty of the city will continue to grow. Those of you who have been in the wilder places about Washington will understand the opportunity that there is for development. I am, with respect to Washington, at least, an expansionist. I wish that our neighbor, Virginia, would give back those few square miles that, in the younger days of the Republic, when we were not as wise as we are now and had a Congress that was narrow-minded, we retroceded to Virginia that part of the ten miles square that Virginia had given us; but Virginians, like their Virginian ancestors, like real estate, and they are rather loath to give back that which once was ours, and which we, as I say, in a fit of absent-mindedness and of a narrow view of our future, allowed them to take back. If we had it here now, with the beautiful bank of the Potomac on the other side, we could construct a park there that would be becoming in dignity to the National Capital.

We have below here—and if you rode horseback I would be glad to take you down and show you—an island nearly two miles long and from a half to three-quarters of a mile wide, immediately at the door of the city, which, added to the Potomac Park that we now have, will make one of the finest drives and finest parks in the world. We now have appropriations from Congress to proced to fill up, to kill all the mosquitoes that are generated there, and to make it worthy of the surroundings, with that magnificent monument to the Father of the Country presiding over it all.

I didn't come here to make a speech about Washington. I came here only to welcome you to Washington. I have known the B'nai B'rith long, for its good works, for the social opportunities that it gives, and as a model Jewish Society. When I say a model Jewish society, I mean a society that may be a model for all societies.

Now, I have the profoundest admiration for the Jewish race. They make excellent citizens. They are in favor of law and order always. I am glad to have them come to this country. I have known those who have been in the country as long as I have, and therefore are just as much American as I am. I have also had the privilege of knowing those who have come but recently, and I have always found in them the profoundest appreciation of our institutions of liberty, the profoundest appreciation of our educational facilities, and their ability generally, what seems to those of us who have sons and daughters in competition in the schools, to stand first in their classes.

Now, my friends, I had not intended to say so much, but if in what I have said I have conveyed to you my high appreciation of the race that you represent—the oldest race in the world—that people who are entitled really to be the aristocrats of the world, and yet who make the best Republicans, I have succeeded in what I hoped to do.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE TOMPKINS AVENUE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, BROOKLYN, N. Y., JUNE 8, 1911.

My dear Boys and Girls:—I feel just as if I were a boy or a girl myself, about to make a recitation in a Sunday School without having studied the lesson. It is a great pleasure to look into your faces and to see how you are enjoying this afternoon. I hope you like your Sunday Schools. I hope your mother or your father doesn't have to exert herself or himself—doesn't have to push you to school. Does she? (Voices, "No.") You go without it, don't you? (Voices, "Yes.") I am glad that is the case in Brooklyn. I am afraid there are some cities where it is not always the case.

But this kind of a celebration—this making much of the Sunday School, as it ought to be made much of, makes the Sunday School popular; makes it a place that boys and girls love to go to, where they learn the lessons of the Bible, learn of God and of Jesus Christ, and learn, I hope, to be good boys and girls just because they know it is good to be good.

I never talk to a Sunday School now. I used to talk in a Sunday School when I was a member of one, and I think I know more how a boy or a girl feels in a Sunday School than I know how a teacher feels.

It is a moment to me of exhilaration to see these young faces, and to feel that they are instinct with an interest in this occasion that is certain to make them recollect it and certain to do them good.

God bless you, my dear boys and girls! God bless you! I know you are going to grow up to be good men and women, and to make this country better!

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT BEFORE THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR CONVENTION, AT YOUNG'S PIER, ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., JULY 7, 1911.

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE CHRISTIAN ENDEAVOR, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—As I stand upon this platform I am conscious of being in the presence of a religious force for progress and good in the world that had its genesis nearly 30 years ago, and now is making its influence felt completely around the world, and through the expression and activity of 4,000,000 living souls.

This convention commemorates the organization of a movement based upon the principle that the time to influence men and women in their lives is in that formative period between youth and manhood, and that the making of the character of men and women is best achieved by training and practice, rather than by instruction and preaching. By insistence upon open confession of religious faith and the bringing forth of works needful for the expression of that faith and in the fellowship which follows a common confession and works, the Christian Endeavor has made its mark in the religious history of the world.

But I did not come here to discuss before an audience that knows them very much better than I the principles upon which your society is founded and the methods by which these principles have been embodied in the present glorious and useful development. I may take one sentence to express my profound and sincere admiration for Dr. Clark and his estimable wife, the founders of this society, who have lived long enough to see it grow from one small organization in Williston, Maine, to a world power for good; and, as the Chief Magistrate of this country, to recognize the debt it owes for their work and especially in the development of individual Christian character among the members of the Evangelical Protestant churches of this country. Such a movement can not but have the most beneficial effect upon the citizenship of a nation like this, and I should be lacking in appreciation of these currents of popular reform and individual uplift if I did not seize such an opportunity to pay a just tribute to those who have deserved so well of the Republic; for while this country has no state church, and encourages the utmost freedom of religious belief and practice, it is a fundamental error to suppose that those who are responsible in any degree for the public welfare may not in every proper way encourage all instrumentalities for the betterment of the individual man, all moral and religious movements for his higher spiritual welfare, without regard to the denominational jurisdiction in which such movements take their source or exercise their influence. They necessarily tend to a leaven of the whole community and to the righteousness that exalteth a nation.

But, as I say, I did not come here to tell you about your own organization. I came here to talk on a subject and cause in which I have, in common with all the civilized people of the world, an intense interest, and that is the avoidance of war by providing such instrumentalities for the settlement of international controversies as to make war remote because unnecessary.

I observe that in your last convention, the Twenty-fourth International Convention, one of your resolutions was as follows:

> "*Resolved,* That as followers of the Prince of Peace, we ally ourselves with every effort that is being made for the suppression of war. The immense and ever-increasing tax which war and preparations for war levy on peaceful industries, and the frightful horrors of war itself, demand that every lover of God and humanity should unite for its suppression."

In the last 25 years we have made great progress toward an international condition in which war is less likely than heretofore. It is true that in that time we have had several great wars—the war between China and Japan, the war between Russia and Japan, the war between the United States and Spain, the war between England and the Boers, and perhaps some others. Nevertheless, as between the great countries of Europe which have armed themselves to the teeth since the German-French War of 1870, peace has been maintained; and under the inspiration of a common desire for peace, treaties have been made with reference to arbitration at The Hague, and for the establishment of a court at The Hague for the settlement of international disputes, and have pointed to the ideal of the utmost use in the promotion of the cause of peace.

By negotiation and mediation, and the formation of arbitration agreements, wars in the last decade have been stopped in Central and South America in a most gratifying number of instances. All wars have not been stopped in those countries lacking stability and power to enforce law and order; but that there is a marked improvement throughout Latin America in this regard, and especially in Central America, no one who has consulted the statistics of revolutions can fail to recognize. The heroism and exhibition of the noblest qualities of the heart and soul and mind of man that war makes possible, every student of history and of human nature must admit, but that this is accomplished with the horrible cost and sacrifice of human suffering and lives, and that an associated exhibition of the lowest moral qualities in man, of ambition, lust for power, of cruelty, ghoulish rapacity, and corruption, is equally true, and in very few cases, if any, can the historian say that the good of war was worth the awful sacrifice. And hence it is that we should all welcome, as far as we can, the effort to dispense with the necessity of war altogether. Even if that effort may not be entirely successful, every movement which tends to discourage war, and to furnish a means of avoiding it, ought to receive and does receive the earnest support of an organization that has the purposes and principles that actuate the Society of the Christian Endeavor.

I am glad to say that to-day we have reached such a point in the negotiations for a treaty of universal arbitration with one of the great

European powers that we can confidently predict the signing of a satisfactory treaty.

I am exceedingly hopeful that we may have half a dozen treaties with the European countries looking toward arbitration of international differences. This will not abolish war, but it will provide a most effective and forcible instrument for avoiding it in many cases. Of course, war between Great Britain and the United States, between France and the United States, and between Germany and the United States, is quite remote; but the adoption by those great countries of arbitration and mediation as a means of meeting all controversies must have the most healthy moral effect upon the world at large and must assist all the friends of peace in their effort to make it permanent. To this audience, and this great society with its world-wide influence, I do not hesitate to appeal to give the tremendous weight of its support to such a cause.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE CATHOLIC SUMMER SCHOOL OF AMERICA, AT CLIFF HAVEN, N. Y., JULY 7, 1909.

YOUR EMINENCE, GOVERNOR HUGHES, DR. MCMAHON, AND MY FELLOW-CITIZENS OF THE CATHOLIC SUMMER SCHOOL OF AMERICA:—Governor Hughes and I are going through these three or four days delivering speeches at each other, and expressing our opinion of each other in a way that will enable us, when we get through, to do it with greater facility. The truth is that the gift of eloquence and speech which Governor Hughes has needs no practice, but I have to have a little.

I would be without that which makes a man if I did not appreciate to the full the kindly words of your distinguished Governor, and if I did not congratulate the State of New York on having a Governor who represents the highest ideals. One is almost carried off his feet before such an audience. There is something in the atmosphere that suggests a flying machine, as if you were all so full of joy that that element in you could raise you up, and that is the way you ought to be, and I congratulate you that such is the feeling.

The combination of work and pleasure, the cultivation of health on the one hand and of intellect on the other, and of religious faith above all under such beautiful surroundings is calculated to make every one enthusiastic, and I share that enthusiasm to the full.

I am not a Catholic, but I have had in the last ten years a great deal to do with the Catholic Church. My lot did not carry me into a part of the world that made me familiar with the French explorers, the French leaders of civilization like Champlain, as it did into the regions of those leaders that came from Spain—into the Philippines, where the same influence that carried Champlain here and the same ideal that controlled him, controlled men equally brave, and in certain respects more successful. There was Magellan and later Legaspi who came out to the Philippines and with four or five Augustinian monks converted to Christianity that entire Archipelago now having some seven or eight million souls, and then perhaps 500,000—the only community, the only people in the entire Orient that to-day as a people are Christians. There is on the Luneta, the great public square facing the ocean in Manila, a statue carved by a great Spanish sculptor, Querol, in which there are two figures, Legaspi, holding the standard of Spain and with his sword drawn, and behind him Urdenta, a Recolleto monk, holding aloft behind all the cross, and there is in that statue such movement, such force, such courage that I used to like, even in the hot days of Manila, to stand in front of it and enjoy, as I thought I got the spirit that the sculptor had tried to put in there, of loyalty to country and faith in God.

I think we are reaching a point in this country where we are very much more tolerant of everything and everybody than in the past, and where we are giving justice where justice ought to be given. We are no longer cherishing those narrow prejudices that came from denominational bigotry, and we are able to recognize in the past those great heroes of any religious Christian faith and appreciate the virtues they exhibited as examples for us.

Religious tolerance is rather a modern invention. Those of us of Puritan ancestry have been apt to think that we were the inventors of religious tolerance. Well, as a matter of fact, what we were in favor of, if I can speak for Puritan ancestry, was having a right to worship God as we pleased, and having everybody else worship God in the same way. But we have worked that out now; and there has been a great change, I am sure His Eminence the Cardinal will agree with me, even in the last twenty-five years. I have had personal evidence of it in some of the work that we had to do in the Philippines. Fifty years ago if it had been proposed to send a representative of the Government to the Vatican to negotiate and settle matters arising in a country like the Philippines between the Government and the Roman Catholic Church, it would have given rise to the severest condemnation and criticism on the part of those who would have feared some diplomatic relation between the Government and the Vatican contrary to our traditions; but within the last ten years that has been done, with the full concurrence of all religious denominations, believing that the way to do things is to do them directly, and when a matter is to be settled that it should be settled with the head of the church who has authority to act. And so it fell to my lot, my dear friends, and in that respect just by good luck, I came to be an exception, which will perhaps stand for many years as the sole exception, of being the representative of the United States at the Vatican. There I had the great pleasure of meeting that distinguished statesman and pontiff, Leo XIII, a man of 92, whom I expected to find rather a lay figure directed by the council of the Cardinals than one active in control of the Church. But I was most pleasantly disappointed, for even at 92 he was able to withstand an address of mine of twenty minutes, to catch the points of that address, and to respond in a speech of some fifteen minutes, showing how fully he appreciated the issue that there was and its importance.

We did not succeed in bringing about exactly the agreement which we asked, and he realized that, but he was full of friendly enthusiasm for the settlement of the issue, and after two audiences which I had the honor of holding with him, at the close of the second one he said, "You haven't got exactly what you want in exactly the way you want it, but," said he, "I am going to send a representative of mine to the Philippines with instructions to see that the matter is settled justly in accordance with the wishes of the Government of the United States." And it was so settled. I am gratified to say that now every question between the Church and the State in the Philippine Islands, which were so closely united that it seemed almost impossible to make a separation of the two as it ought to be made under our Constitution, has been settled fairly and justly to both sides, and that no bad taste or feeling of injustice exists on either side with respect to those questions.

And now, my dear friends, I ought to talk about Champlain, and I would talk something about him because I appreciate as highly as any one can those motives that governed him and his high character as a man and the obstacles that he had to overcome; but when I get up to talk on any subject, I am a little bit in the attitude of the doctor who could cure fits and that is all he could cure, and so he wanted to throw his patients into that condition. I can only talk about the Philippines, and that is what I have done, but I hope they have some application to the thoughts of the morning.

I thank you, my dear friends, I thank the reverend fathers and His Eminence the Cardinal, for the cordial reception that you have given to the civil head of New York and to the civil head of the Nation.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE INGRAM MEMORIAL CHURCH ON CAPITOL HILL, JULY 11, 1909.

Dr. Frizzell, Ladies and Gentlemen:—When your minister came to see me in the hurry of a busy morning at the White House, and invited me to attend the dedication ceremonies of his church, either he forgot to tell me that I was expected to make a speech or else there were so many matters pressing that I did not catch that statement from his lips.

I am glad to be present at a ceremony beginning the usefulness of an institution of religion as this church will be. It is a Congregational Church, and as the minister says, comes from New England by descent. I likewise claim New England ancestry. I venture to think, however, that the plan of this church is somewhat different in its method of bringing men to God and attracting men and women to religion than that which was adopted by the Pilgrim Fathers and those who immediately followed them. As I recollect it, their idea was to separate everything from religion, to clothe it with nothing externally beautiful, and to make the service of religion as severe as possible, so that you can well understand the question of the little boy who had been subjected to those very strict rules of the Sabbath day in the Puritan family when he asked his mother whether, when she told him that heaven was to be all the Sabbath day, he could not go down to hell and play Saturday afternoon. Now this church and most churches have properly departed from making religion something severe, something in the way of a test and a criminal trial to which everyone is to be subjected to condemnation. You know the story of the young man and his bride who began life in a city and who found themselves confronted with the question what newspaper they should subscribe to. The young man described his situation and the trouble he found himself in by saying, "My dear, I don't know what to do. The paper that is published in the morning makes vice so attractive, and the paper that is published in the afternoon makes virtue so unattractive, that we will have to subscribe to some other paper in some other town."

As I understand the plan of this church, it is to make religion a part of the life of those who are members of the church. It is to furnish rational amusement. It is to make the church so attractive by reason of its social qualities, by reason of offering an opportunity for physical exercise, for intellectual exercise, that those who are members of it shall regard religion as a necessary part of life and one which they will welcome as a part of life, and not which they regard as something apart to be improved once every seven days and then to be taken in as small doses as possible and still conform to the religious law. I am glad to know, to see and to believe that all churches in a way, not so completely as this plan indicates, are adopting the view that there is nothing inconsistent between religion and duty and happiness and rational amusement, and that the union of all of them is not something that is repellant to the real religious soul. But, my dear friends, I did not expect to speak after the eloquent address of my friend, Mr. Esch, of Wisconsin, who properly was called upon here to answer for both of his constituents and to answer well, as he did. But I want to say one thing. This church is established in Washington; it is well that it is here; it is established upon Capitol Hill. Now Washington contains the Government of this country. I don't mean the President and the Cabinet. I don't mean the Senate and the House of Representatives; but there is something that goes to make up this Government as a machine that continues to operate when the President goes to the seacoast, when the Senate and the House go home and attend to their private business, and when the members of the Cabinet disappear in various directions from this somewhat heated temperature, and that Government is the Government of the civil servants—trained civil servants who know how things ought to be done, and through whose agency the Government will be carried on from now until the end of time as I hope; a trained body of civil servants who are willing for a very reasonable compensation, sometimes much too low, to give out what is best of them to the carrying on of this Government in an honest, effective way—men who are philosophers enough to know that by the enjoyment of a small salary, if they rid themselves from the worry and the corroding effect of mercenary ambition, they can get more happiness out of life in seeing their families grow, in the education of their children, than by aspiring to be millionaires and plutocrats. Now that body of men is here in Washington, and I know no better body of men constitute a moving force in a church like this than the civil servants who doubtless live about this vicinity. I congratulate the minister on having that material out of which to build up the great structure that doubtless will be his when this church is built and when the congregation reaches the proportions that it will doubtless reach. I congratulate him on the auspicious beginning of this enterprise. I congratulate the neighborhood on having an instrumentality that cannot but elevate it when it is put in force. And now, Dr. Frizzell, as I am an accomplished mason I shall be glad to continue.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNERSTONE OF THE UNIVERSALIST CHURCH, IRVINGTON, PORTLAND, OREGON, OCTOBER 3, 1909.

Mr. Pastor, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I don't know that anybody questions the propriety of my attendance on this occasion, or that it is necessary for me to enter into an explanation. I conceive it to be the duty of the President of the United States to welcome and encourage and support every instrument by which the standard of morals and religion in the community may be elevated and maintained. It was my pleasure and my opportunity to take part in the dedication of an orthodox Congregational Church in Washington in the spring; my pleasure to take part in ceremonies in a Jewish tabernacle in Pittsburgh; to officiate as the layer of the cornerstone of a Roman Catholic university at Helena, and now to take what part I may in the ceremonies of laying the cornerstone of a Universalist Church in this beautiful suburb of Portland. And I do it because I believe that the cornerstone of modern civilization must continue to be religion and morality.

We have in our Constitution separated the civil from the religious. It was at one time my good fortune to visit Rome in order by negotiation to effect a settlement of a number of questions which had arisen between the Roman Catholic Church and the civil government in the Philippines. The government of the Philippines under Spain had illustrated that system known in the Spanish Government as the Union of Church and State. Their interests were so inextricably united that it seemed almost impossible to separate them, but with the consent and acquiescence of all denominations in this country, I was authorized to go to Rome to meet the head of the great Roman Catholic Church, in order to see if amicably those matters might not be settled. I am glad to say that the result of the visit was a satisfactory settlement, equitable and just to both sides. But I started to mention it in order to relate that I ventured to say to the Pope that the division between Church and State in this country and their separation was not in the slightest degree to be taken as an indication that there was anything in our Government or in our people that was opposed to the church and its highest development, and I ventured to point out that in the United States the Roman Catholic Church had flourished and grown as it had not grown in many European countries, and that it had received at the hands of the Government as liberal and as just and as equal treatment as every other church, no better and no worse; but that that was not to be taken as an indication that every officer of the Government properly charged with his responsibility would not use all the official influence that he had to encourage the establishment of churches, their maintenance and the broadening of their influence in order that morality and religion might prevail throughout the country.

This is a Universalist Church, known as a liberal church. We have reached a time in this country when the churches are growing together; when they are losing the bitterness of sectarian dispute; that they appreciate that it is necessary, in order that their influence be felt, that they stand shoulder to shoulder in the contest for righteousness. They believe in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man; and the real broad Christian statesman is glad to accept from every quarter the assistance which will elevate the people and lead them on in that progress that we all believe the American people are making. If they are not—if they are not going to higher moral standards, then all this material progress, all this advance in luxury and comfort, is worth nothing.

I am an optimist. I believe we are better to-day than we were fifty years ago, man by man. I believe we are more altruistic. I believe that each man is more interested in his fellow than he was fifty or one hundred years ago. I know you can point to instances of self-depravity, of selfishness and greed, but I believe those instances are made more prominent because we condemn them more, and because by being made prominent the happening of them is made less likely.

I am glad to be here. I hope this church will thrive. I hope it will maintain its high principles of being a good man and a good citizen and mixing them together. I welcome the opportunity to be able as President of the United States to say that there is no church in this country, however humble, which preaching true religion, which preaching true morality, will not have my support and my earnest effort to make it more successful when opportunity offers.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE NEW BOWERY MISSION, NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 13, 1909.

My Friends:—I am just about as much surprised at being here as you are at seeing me. I had a note from your benefactor, Dr. Klopsch, asking me to come down to a mission which he had established in the Bowery, after the meeting at Carnegie Hall. Now, I have known Dr. Klopsch—well, not very long—but I have known him in a way that perhaps you know him. I know him by what he has done.

It has been my fortune in life to play a good deal of a part of a figurehead. Some men do the work and others are figureheads; and nature developed me in such a way that I play a pretty good part as a figurehead. So that they put me at the head of the Red Cross, and as the head of the Red Cross I came to know the enormous energy and the tremendous power for good which Dr. Klopsch could exercise through the "Christian Herald" in raising hundreds of thousands of dollars to relieve human suffering wherever it might be in the world. And so when he wrote and asked me to come here, I was not exactly advised as to where I was coming, except that it was on the Bowery; I have always had a good deal of curiosity (for I have not lived in New York) to know the Bowery, and I felt certain that where Dr. Klopsch and the Bowery met there would probably be the best part of the Bowery, and so I came here.

Now, your superintendent has been good enough to say some complimentary things about my coming from Carnegie Hall down to the Bowery to meet you. I am not conscious of deserving any credit for that at all. As I look into your faces I see that you are earnest American citizens—to use a colloquial expression—some of you "down on your luck" perhaps, but nevertheless responding in every fiber of your body to the same sentiments of loyalty and patriotism and love of country and decency and aspirations for better things that every other man, I hope, has in this country. I am glad to be here, if, by being here and saying so, I can convince you that the so-called chasm between you and people who seem for the time to be more fortunate is not a chasm, and that there is extending over whatever is between you and them a deep feeling of sympathy and a deep, earnest desire that you shall have that equality of opportunity, that means of getting on to your feet, of earning your livelihood, of supporting your families, that we hope every man under the Stars and Stripes may fully enjoy. I am glad to come here and to testify by my presence my sympathy with the great work of Dr. Klopsch in this mission by which he shall from time to time and constantly, but not always the same people, help over hard places, help over the times when things seem desperate, when it seems as if the Lord and everybody else had turned against you—should help you over those times to believe that there are people in the world who sympathize with you and wish for better things, and enable you to achieve those better things that the equality of opportunity in this country I hope may enable you to achieve.

I know it is difficult for you to believe that I, who for the time being am receiving a large salary from the United States and living in comfort, could understand or take into my heart the feeling that you may have of desperation and of a sense of injustice that you have not had the chance that other men have had: and yet I assure you that in spite of that seeming influence, your fellow-citizens and mine are not the greedy, oppressive persons that sometimes people would make you believe, but that, more to-day than ever in the history of the world, their hearts are open and their desires to help the needy and lift the suffering out of their suffering is greater to-day than it ever was and is growing every month. Dr. Klopsch is one of those through whom I hope that thought is being conveyed to you, so that you may not burn with a sense of injustice, but that you may hope on and struggle on with the belief that the future is brighter for you.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE INSTALLATION OF WILLIAM ARNOLD SHANKLIN AS PRESIDENT OF WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY AT THE MIDDLESEX THEATER, MIDDLETOWN, CONN., NOVEMBER 12, 1909.

MR. PRESIDENT:—After the felicitous congratulations which you have received from men of this University, from men of your own Alma Mater, I feel a little as if I were uttering an alien note, for it has not been my good fortunte personally to know you long. I can not forget that my acquaintance began with you when for another Presidency I was attempting to convince the people how they ought to exercise their judgment, and then I was talking and it seems to me I have been talking ever since; and if there is lacking in what I have to say the polish and elegance of an address which this occasion requires, you, sir, will understand from the exigency in which you saw me at the time why it is absent from what I have to address to you.

The President of the Board of Trustees instituted by implication a comparison between the powers which you are about to exercise and those which the Constitution accords to the President of the United States. I have had some experience in college government of an incidental character, and I am able to congratulate you, sir, that the powers which you will exercise as President are the powers which you choose to exercise. It is well that it should be so. I would not advocate it or be understood to advocate any change in the existing Constitution of the United States. I think that excellent; but for the control of an institution like this, in order that it may work out its destiny as it should work it out, the great responsibility and therefore the great power must be in its President, and I congratulate you that it is so, because of the opportunities that the position offers in the development of the character of a body of young men that if properly developed are bound to exercise a profound influence in the history of the Nation. Coming here at the most formative period in their lives, they here take in not only the instruction and the education, to observe the distinction made by that gentleman who preceded me and represented nobody (they think differently in New York) (referring to Senator Root), but also that spirit of an institution called sometimes the "college spirit" that takes its form and influence as much from the personal character and the personal influence of the head of the institution as from any other source. Now, that spirit is different from the education that we get. It is something hard to define. It is something that stands through life for the men who come under its influence as a restraint from evil and furnishes an aspiration for good. Except for the influence of the family upon the man, there is nothing I know of that prompts such endeavor that keeps men in honorable courses like the desire to stand well with the men who for four years develop their youth to manhood in the same class and under the same influence. Mr. President, the influence of the college graduate and the duty which he owes to himself and society to take an interest in public affairs perhaps I may speak of for a moment. I can not forget that it was within the walls of Wesleyan that George William Curtis delivered that great oration in 1865, upon the duty of the college man and the scholar in politics, and I doubt not that the spirit that he there infused has continued in old Wesleyan ever since, and that it will grow under your influence.

I don't know how greater influence college men exert to-day in the public life of our nation than before. Certainly there are more of them. Certainly the standard is as high in the institutions of learning to-day as it ever was. I can not help thinking that unless the colleges of the country and the universities of the country do their duty and continue to turn out men who are willing to sacrifice themselves to the public weal there will be a retrograde step in this country. Something has been said about small colleges. There are advantages in large colleges, and there are advantages in small colleges. The advantage in the smaller institution is that you come closer into contact with the student body, you as President, and the Faculty as members, and that there comes under your close observation the growth of the character of the men for whom you are responsible. Mr. Bryce in his Commonwealth comments on the tremendous advantage that the United States has had in the fact that there are small colleges everywhere in the country offering an opportunity by proximity to the young men for higher education, and I cannot conceive anything more inviting than the taking of a comparatively small body of young men, developing them under your immediate influence and bringing out those traits of high character for which, after all, all instruction and all education and all training are the preparation and the basis. Mr. President, I am one of those who have advice and nothing else to offer. I congratulate the University that it is to have such a President. A college president is first of all a teacher. That is his profession. The university is a teaching instrument. And if he would fulfill the measure of his duties he must understand how teaching is best done. Therefore he must be a pedagogue. It is his profession. Of course, as in every other profession where a great institution is to be looked after, he must have executive ability and he must have the power of selecting the men for the work which they are to do. Now, I submit that unless he is a teacher and understands generally with reference to all the teaching that is to be done in the university, he is not fitted to make the selections which are to build up the faculty, which is to do the work of the institution, and I congratulate you, sir, and I congratulate the University that it has a President that fills in every respect the measure which I have described.

REMARKS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE ALL SOULS' (UNITARIAN) CHURCH, FOURTEENTH AND I STREETS, N. W., WASHINGTON, D. C., MAY 15, 1910.

My Fellow Unitarians:—I am not sufficiently advised of the exact conditions and the history of this church to be able to make what I have to say authoritative, or perhaps even useful. I never have thought of Unitarians as the wealthy people of any community. I do not think they are. I had a very novel experience at Beverly last summer in being asked to take part in a movement for a charitable organization in the neighborhood, on the ground that if I did I might arouse the interest of some rich Unitarians in the neighborhood, and it was a novel sensation to me to be put in that attitude toward my fellow Unitarians. But whether we of this congregation are poor or rich, I do think it is of the utmost importance for all of us who believe in the Unitarian Church that the capital of the country should have a suitable Unitarian edifice in which it can be made as useful as possible. I note that the chairman of the board of trustees says that the auditorium is large enough. I do not presume to differ with him as to the business of the church, but I think we have had visible evidence during the winter that the church is not large enough; and I do not doubt that when people come and stand in the aisle during one Sunday service and find it difficult to get seats, it discourages their coming again.

We certainly ought to have a church here large enough to afford seating capacity for all who wish to come under the beneficent Unitarian influence. We have a preacher who attracts; we have a church whose principles ought to attract and do attract; and we ought to spare no effort to erect a large enough auditorium to give comfortable opportunity to hear to those who would come.

No one can have listened to the Sunday School exercises here at the end of each year without failing to realize the wonderful educational, Christian influence that is exercised by our Sunday School, and that it should have adequate accommodations is essential.

There is no time in the history of the church and in the history of our country when such a movement is likely to be as successful as to-day. We have prosperity. We shall probably be able to dispose of this church now for a sum as high as at any time, and the congregation is probably in a condition to give more liberally now than it may be in ten years hence. For that reason, it seems to me that the moment is here and that we all ought to strain to give as much as possible to make this movement a success, and I for one, although only an humble worshipper in the church, vote "aye."

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE FORTY-FIFTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE GENERAL SYNOD OF THE EVANGELICAL CHURCH OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE LUTHER MEMORIAL CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D. C., JUNE 7, 1911.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—I have listened with a great deal of interest to a review—a summary—of the strength and virtue of the Lutherans and the Lutheran Church. I hardly needed such an introduction of the audience, because I have known Lutherans ever since I knew anything. I came from Cincinnati. More than one-third of our population there are Germans, and a great majority of them are Lutherans. I never think of Lutherans without remembering the only German phrase I know, and that I am not quite sure is grammatical—"Ein Feste Burg." That suggests their character and their reliance.

I am delighted to welcome you to Washington. I am glad you have chosen Washington for the meeting of your synod. I think it is a good city to come to. If you will believe some of my friends, like Dr. Radcliffe, perhaps your presence will help us. But seriously speaking, one of the pleasures and one of the duties of the President has come to be that of the welcomer of the Capital City of those who are attracted here to hold useful conventions in the sight, so to speak, of the United States. Those of you who walk under the dome of the Capitol have the feeling, I know, that you are right there in the presence of the country. There the spirit of nationalism—the spirit of patriotism—seems to be in the atmosphere, and that is why you love to come to Washington, and to see personified, so to speak, your country.

It is unnecessary for me to speak of the strength that the Lutheran Germans and the Germans generally have added to our civilization. In Cincinnati we received what we thought was the "cream" of Germany in 1848 and 1849. At that time there were disturbances in Germany, and men who advocated the utmost freedom in government found homes here. a little more comfortable than they thought they would be if they stayed. They were men of independence, strength and of high standing in the communities they had left, and they stood for something in the communities into which they came, and they formed the leaders of those Germans who went into the Civil War for the purpose of upholding the North, vindicate freedom and eradicating slavery. Therefore, you have a history to which you may look back with intense pride.

I am glad to be here on this platform. I am glad to congratulate you on such a convention. I am glad to meet the Speaker of the House here in such good company, but I am sorry that I can not wait to hear him. The truth is, my engagements are so many that it is a little difficult for me to keep them. I have just left the Chief Justice of the United States, with whom I have been engaged in a consideration of the reform of the equity procedure of Federal Courts. As he is leaving the city, and as this is the last time I shall have the opportunity of seeing him, I must return to him, and I must ask you therefore to excuse me.

I am sure the result of the synod will be as it ought to be, good for the church, good for the people in the church, and good for the country. I am glad to welcome such sturdy members of the community as the Lutherans of this country.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT AT THE METHODIST SOCIAL UNION BANQUET, AT SHERRY'S, NEW YORK CITY, APRIL 27, 1911.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—I have just left a gathering of newspaper men and publishers, the largest in the United States, and I have come to tell you one great advantage that you have over that gathering, and that is, that you bring the ladies down to your level, and give them an opportunity to exercise that influence which when exercised will elevate you to their level.

It is a great pleasure to address a Methodist body under any circumstances, but it is especially a pleasure and a privilege to address the Methodist Social Union. Methodism is militant Christianity, but there is nothing in the militant spirit that prevents you from enjoying the sweets of association, and so it is that you have always cultivated, so far as I have known your Church, and I have known it in a great many different climes and quarters—you have cultivated a social side as well as a religious side of life. And you have not clothed your religion with that character of severity and rigidity that makes the members long for a little lack of restriction.

I have come into contact with your Church under conditions where I have felt its beneficial influence in a marked way. It fell to my lot to assume responsibility for the civil government of some six or eight millions of people that the United States had taken over as a guardian, in order to point the way to good government and better civilization, and and in that work I found Methodist brethren and Methodist missionaries at my back, anxious to furnish their support and every assistance possible. The truth is I became so much a friend of one of the Methodist brethren in the Philippines that I have been running him for Bishop ever since, but I have not yet been successful. But, my friends, I have just inflicted a speech of about forty minutes on one audience, and my love and consideration for you will prevent my repetition of the same cruelty on you. I am going on—moving on as Joe did in Bleak House. One limitation to-night is that I have to catch the midnight train in order to reach Washington in the morning. I ask you therefore to excuse me from further remarks because there are two other dinners that await my consumption.

I thank you sincerely for your very cordial reception, and I thank your management for the opportunity of addressing such a beautiful and attractive audience.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT TAFT ON THE OCCASION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE PRIESTHOOD AND THE TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE CARDINALATE OF HIS EMINENCE JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS, AT THE FIFTH REGIMENT ARMORY, BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, JUNE 6, 1911.

Ladies and Gentlemen:—This assembly, I venture to say, can find few counterparts in history. We are met as American citizens to congratulate the American primate of one of the great churches of the world upon the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession to the highest office in his Church but one, and upon the fiftieth anniversary of his entering the Church as one of its priests. We are not here as members of any denomination. We are not here in any official capacity. But we are here to recognize and honor in him his high virtues as a patriotic member of our political community and one who through his long and useful life has spared no efforts in the cause of good citizenship and the uplifting of his fellow-men.

As American citizens we are proud that his prominence in the Church brought him 25 years ago the rank of Cardinal. The rarity with which this rank is conferred in his Church upon bishops and priests so far from Rome is an indication of the position which he had won among his fellow churchmen. But what we are especially delighted to see confirmed in him and his life is the entire consistency which he has demonstrated between earnest and single-minded patriotism and love of country on the one hand, and sincere devotion to his Church and God upon the other. One of the tenets of his Church is respect for constituted authority, and always have we found him on the side of law and order, always in favor of peace and good will to all men, always in favor of religious tolerance, and always strong in the conviction that complete freedom in the matter of religion is the best condition under which churches may thrive. With pardonable pride he points to the fact that Maryland under Catholic control was among the first to give complete religious tolerance.

Nothing could more clearly show the character of the man whose jubilee we celebrate than the living testimonial that this assembly is to his value as a neighbor in the community of Baltimore. If you would find what a man is, go to his home and his neighbors, and there if everything that he does and says rings true and shows his heartwhole interest in the welfare of men and women and children near about him, you have the strongest proof of his virtues as a lover of mankind.

Born in Baltimore, educated in Ireland, made a priest in Maryland, a curate in North Carolina, a bishop in Richmond, a coadjutor in Baltimore, Archbishop of Baltimore and successor of Archbishop Carroll and Archbishop Kendrick in the primatial see of this country, he was called to the high position of Cardinal June 7, 1886, by Leo XIII.

In spite of the burden and responsibilities of his high position in the Church, he has taken part in the many great movements for the betterment of mankind, and has shown himself not only a good Catholic in the church sense, but he has been broadly catholic in the secular sense of that word. so that the affection felt for him by his co-religionists has spread to all denominations and to all the people, who are quick to see a disinterested friend.

That he may long continue active in his present high position, that he may long continue in secular movements to take the prominent place he has always had in works of usefulness, is the fervent prayer of Catholic and Protestant, of Jew and Christian.

PLATFORM

OF THE

INTERNATIONAL PEACE FORUM

To promote Peace among the nations of the world, by encouraging a systematic study of the causes of War and the best methods to effect its abolition:

1. By the maintenance of a Literary Bureau for the moulding of public opinion regarding the various phases of the Peace Movement and the appalling nature and consequences of War;

2. By conducting a Speakers' Bureau to secure representative men for Mass Meetings, Religious and Patriotic Services, Conferences, Conventions, Chautauquas and Congresses;

3. By organizing in every State in the Union and throughout the world, Auxiliaries of the Forum, to be controlled and directed from the International headquarters;

4. By the speedy discovery and execution of the means best calculated to unite the Nations of the Earth in a proclamation establishing Compulsory Arbitration and the Consequent Abolition of War;

5. By co-operating with all Organizations, Associations and Agencies already enlisted in behalf of the principles of Arbitration and the cause of Universal Peace;

6. By diffusing information regarding economic questions, that Peace may be established in the Industrial World; the rights of life, liberty, labor and capital properly safeguarded, and such conditions of industrial and economic competition secured as are fundamental to Universal Peace.

THE TRUTH
ABOUT
THOSE DELEGATES

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY 20

ISSUED BY
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
TIMES BUILDING
NEW YORK CITY

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8, 15 '12

OFFICIAL STATEMENT

SHOWING CONTESTS FOR SEATS IN THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1912, THE DISPOSITION OF THEM BY THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE, BY THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS, AND BY THE CONVENTION ITSELF.

The national committee which passed upon the contests of 1 was the committee chosen in 1908 when Roosevelt was the le iou of the party, at a time when his influence dominated the convention.

There were 252 delegates to the Republican national convention of 1912 whose seats were contested; 238 of these were Taft delegates whom Roosevelt people desired to unseat, and 14 were Roosevelt delegates whom Taft people sought to unseat. In accordance with the rules and long-established usage of the party, such contests are, in the first instance, heard by the Republican national committee, consisting of one member from each State or Territory. This committee decides which names shall go upon the temporary roll of the convention. When a temporary organization of the convention has been effected, there is elected a committee on credentials, consisting of one member from each State and Territory, to which an appeal lies from the decision of the national committee, and from the decision of the committee on credentials a contest may be brought to the convention itself.

Among the delegates whose seats were contested were 74 delegates at large from the 14 States of Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, Texas, Virginia and Washington. The Missouri case was decided by the national committee unanimously in favor of the Roosevelt delegates, and no appeal was taken to the committee on credentials.

The Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, and Virginia cases were decided against Roosevelt contestants by practically unanimous votes of the national committee, and were not appealed to the committee on credentials.

In the Kentucky case there were a few votes in the national committee against the Taft delegates at large retaining their seats, but the majority in their favor was overwhelming, and no appeal was taken by the Roosevelt people to the committee on credentials.

In the Georgia case the Taft delegates sustained the right to their seats by a practically unanimous vote in the national committee, and in the committee on credentials the vote was entirely unanimous.

In the Indiana case the seats of the Taft delegates at large were confirmed by the unanimous vote of the national committee, the member from that State not voting. In the committee on credentials 13 votes only were cast in favor of seating the Roosevelt contestants.

In Mississippi the Taft delegates at large established the right to their seats by the unanimous vote of the national committee, and also by the practically unanimous vote of the credentials committee.

There were only four States—Arizona, Michigan, Texas, and Washington, having in all 28 delegates, including six district delegates from the State of Washington—where the contests were at all worthy of the name, and in none of the 14 States did the contestants at large bring the matter to a record vote in the convention, and no roll call was demanded in any such case.

The seats of 178 district delegates were contested. In these congressional districts Taft contests were brought in the fourth California, the eleventh Kentucky, the fifth Missouri, and the third and fifteenth Texas districts, involving 10 seats. The Taft delegates from the fourth California district were given their seats, and one Taft delegate from the eleventh Kentucky district was seated. The other seven seats were decided in favor of the Roosevelt claimants.

In no other convention was so much care exercised or pains taken or so much time devoted to the careful investigation and fair determination of contest. No delegate was permitted to vote upon any contest affecting the right to his own seat. In no other convention were there ever presented, manifestly for the deception of the public, so many wholly unwarranted and unjustified contests. There were filed contests against 238 Taft delegates, but in two cases only, involving four delegates—two from California and two from the ninth district of Alabama—was there a roll call demanded in the convention. In the California case the right of the Taft delegates to their seats was sustained by a vote of 542 to 529, and in the Alabama case by a much larger vote. In a very large number of cases the right of the Taft delegates was affirmed by unanimous consent of the convention, and in others by a viva voce vote, no roll call being demanded.

The Washington Times, a daily newspaper owned by Frank Munsey, an ardent Roosevelt supporter, in its issue of June 9, 1912, contains the following statement showing the real foundation of most of the Roosevelt contests:

> On the day when Roosevelt formally announced that he was a candidate something over a hundred delegates had actually been selected. When Senator Dixon took charge of the campaign a tabulated showing of delegates selected to date would have looked hopelessly one sided. Moreover, a number of Southern States had called their conventions for early dates and there was no chance to develop the real Roosevelt strength in the great Northern States

till later. For psychological effect as a move in practical politics it was necessary for the Roosevelt people to start contests on these early Taft selections in order that a tabulation of delegate strength could be put out that would show Roosevelt holding a good hand. In the game a table showing Taft 150, Roosevelt 19, contested none, would not be very much calculated to inspire confidence, whereas one showing Taft 23, Roosevelt 19, contested 127, looked very different. That is the whole story of the larger number of Southern contests that were started early in the game. It was never expected that they would be taken very seriously. They served a useful purpose, and now the national committee is deciding them in favor of Taft in most cases without real division.

The motion of Gov. Hadley to strike out names from the temporary roll and insert others in their places covered only 92, including 18 from Virginia and 2 from the District of Columbia, the contests against whom were so frivolous that they were subsequently abandoned. They were not presented to the committee on credentials at all, although a colored man from the fifth congressional district of Virginia appeared to contest the seat of the Roosevelt delegates from that district. No evidence whatever was presented to the national committee to sustain the contest filed against the Taft delegates elected from the District of Columbia, and the Roosevelt showing in the Virginia cases was scarcely better. The claim of "stolen" delegates is reduced therefore from 238 to 72, and this list includes 2 delegates from the eleventh congressional district of Kentucky, 1 of whom was given Roosevelt, and 2 from the ninth congressional district of Tennessee, a case in which his contest managers had so little confidence that they abandoned it and never presented it to the committee on credentials. The list as finally made up is as follows:

	Delegates.
Ninth Alabama	2
Arizona, at large	6
Fifth Arkansas	2
Fourth California	2
Thirteenth Indiana	2
Seventh Kentucky	2
Eighth Kentucky	2
Eleventh Kentucky	2
Michigan, at large	6
Third Oklahoma	2
Second Tennessee	2
Ninth Tennessee	2
Texas, at large	8
First, second, fourth, fifth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, and fourteenth Texas	18
Washington, at large	8
First, second, and third Washington	6
Total	72

FRAUDULENT ROOSEVELT CONTESTS.

In the four Southern States—Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida—where practically complete sets of Roosevelt contesting delegates were named, the alleged conventions which named them met from two to three months after the regular Republican organizations in those States had called their conventions and duly elected Taft delegates to the national convention. That these contests were based upon unworthy motives and were devised for the sole purpose of deceiving the public and making trouble for Taft, is apparent from the fact that the regularly elected Taft delegates in every case were seated by a practically unanimous vote, the Roosevelt members of the committees joining with the Taft members in the votes. In Alabama, for example, the regular conventions were held in February and March, the State convention at Birmingham and the district conventions in their respective districts, while the Roosevelt conventions both State and district were all held in Birmingham, May 11. The regular conventions in Georgia were held generally in February or the early part of March. The Roosevelt conventions were all held May 17 or 18. The Taft conventions in Florida were all held February 6, while the Roosevelt conventions were all held May 18, more than three months later, except one which met April 30. The regularly elected Taft delegates from Virginia at large were chosen in a State convention which met March 12. The Roosevelt delegates at large were named at a mass meeting, held without any party authority whatever on May 16. The other Roosevelt delegates from this State were chosen in every case substantially two months after the regular Taft delegates had been elected. It is needless to say that all these southern contests, the object of which is so aptly set forth in the quotation from the Washington Times as quoted above, were financed by money which came from the North.

A careful review of the law and the evidence which was presented to the national committee and the committee on credentials will satisfy any one who is desirous of knowing the truth that these contests were decided strictly on their merits.

ALABAMA.

Contests from Alabama were filed with the Republican national committee against the Taft delegates at large and the delegates from the first, second, fifth, sixth, and ninth congressional districts. The contests from the second and sixth districts were withdrawn. The other contests were presented to the national committee and decided in favor of the Taft delegates. Those from the State at large and the first district were decided unanimously on roll call, and that from the fifth district by viva voce vote. The one from the ninth district was decided by a vote of 38 for the Taft delegates and 15 for the Roosevelt delegates, the minority including the chairman of the committee, Mr. Rosewater. Only one of these contests was taken before the committee on credentials, the others having been abandoned.

NINTH ALABAMA DISTRICT.

In the ninth district, which includes the county of Jefferson with the city of Birmingham and three other counties, the district committee split and two calls were issued and two conventions held. The chairman of the committee was a Roosevelt man, but a majority of the members were favorable to Taft. There were three disputed questions of fact involved in this case. The first was the right of the chairman to fill vacancies which existed in the committee. He filled these vacancies with Roosevelt men and based his right to do so upon authority shown by the minutes of the last meeting of the district committee. The minutes themselves were not presented, but a resolution was presented which had been adopted by the district committee authorizing the chairman to make certain original appointments for the purpose of increasing the membership of the committee. The resolution on its face showed the authority claimed by the chairman to fill all vacancies, but this part was clearly an interpolation. It was apparently an afterthought, and had been written in with a different kind of lead pencil from that used to write the main body of the resolution. Affidavits were presented from some ten or twelve members of the committee who had attended this meeting and they testified that no authority had been given to the chairman of the committee to fill vacancies. Both the national committee and the committee on credentials were satisfied that the resolution had been tampered with and by interlineation had been doctored to show something which did not appear in the resolution as originally offered and adopted.

The second disputed question of fact relates to the alleged resignation of Harvey Hardin, a member of the district committee. There is no question about his having executed a resignation, but the paper was given in escrow to a man not a member of the committee, with the understanding that it was to be returned to Hardin in case he appeared in person at Birmingham to attend the meeting of the district committee called to meet there February 15, 1912. Mr. Hardin arrived in Birmingham the night of February 14 and demanded that his resignation be returned to him, which demand was refused. As his resignation was given on the express condition that it was not to take effect if he attended the meeting which was called for February 15, and as he did appear and demand the return of his resignation before the committee met, the resignation was clearly void and of no effect. The law in Alabama is very clear on this point.

The third question of fact was whether one W. M. Latham was a member of the district committee, or whether James Latham was a member. There was ample evidence that W. M. Latham had been elected a member of the committee and that he had acted thereon. He gave his proxy for the meeting of the committee which was held February 15. There was some evidence on the other side, but the preponderance of testimony sustained the claim of W. M. Latham that he was a member of the committee.

If these three questions of fact are resolved in accordance with the clear preponderance of the testimony the delegates elected by the district convention which indorsed Taft were clearly entitled to their seats. As a matter of fact the merits of this controversy were passed upon by the persons most directly interested, the Republicans of the ninth congressional district of Alabama. The district consists of Bibb, Blount, Jefferson, and Perry Counties. The regular Republican organization in all these counties recognized the call of the Taft executive committee. The county executive committees of Jefferson and Blount Counties called county conventions to elect delegates to the Taft congressional convention. The county committees in Bibb and Perry Counties called mass conventions for the same purpose to be held on the same day. The delegate conventions of Jefferson and Blount Counties and the mass conventions of Bibb and Perry Counties elected delegates to the district convention under the terms of the call of the district executive committee, which was friendly to Taft. The regularity of these county organizations can not be attacked. They are the only Republican organizations in those counties, and are recognized by the present State executive committee and also by the former State committee, of which Joseph O. Thompson, an unsuccessful Roosevelt contestant from the State at large, was chairman.

The same county conventions that elected delegates to the Taft district convention elected delegates to the State convention, which elected the Taft delegates from the State at large who were unanimously seated in the Chicago convention. The Roosevelt faction held no meetings of any character whatsoever in Blount, Bibb, or Perry Counties, and held a mass meeting in Jefferson County which elected delegates to the Roosevelt district convention and also to the Roosevelt State convention. The delegates elected from the Roosevelt State convention were refused recognition at Chicago by the unanimous vote of the national committee. The Roosevelt district delegates selected in this district traced their title to the same source; their title was tainted with forgery and was no better than that of the Roosevelt delegates at large. The Taft delegates from the ninth congressional district of Alabama were unquestionably entitled to their seats in the national convention.

ARIZONA.

The executive committee of the Arizona State central committee, consisting of one member from each county in the State, together with the State chairman and secretary, met at Phoenix on May 1, 1912, to prepare a call for a State convention to elect delegates to the Republican national convention. Although the Republican Party in Arizona had at its first State election pledged the passage of a presidential primary law, and although the Democrats had made a similar pledge in their platform, the legislature being in the control of the Democrats had failed to fulfill that pledge up to the time of the meeting of the executive committee. This left the State without any primary law for the election of delegates to the national conventions. It was finally decided unanimously by the executive committee—both Roosevelt and Taft members agreeing—that in the absence of a presidential primary law the various county committees be authorized to determine in what manner the delegates to the State convention should be elected, whether by the county committees, whose members had been elected at a State-wide primary in December last, by direct primary election, or by a primary election of delegates to the county convention which should select delegates to the State convention.

The call as issued required the county committees to meet on the 15th day of May to make this determination, and the appointment or election of delegates was set for the 25th day of May, and the State convention for June 3, at Tucson. The Roosevelt members of the executive committee at this meeting declared their intention to hold primaries in all counties in which they controlled the county central committees. Only two counties, Pinal and Graham, decided to hold primaries for the election of delegates to the State convention, and in Graham County the Taft and Roosevelt members agreed upon this plan. In Cochise and Yuma Counties, where the Roosevelt members held a majority of the county committees, it was unanimously decided that the committees should elect delegates to the State convention, for the reason that Arizona was without any primary law applying to the election of delegates to national conventions, and for the reason that the party treasury was without funds to provide for primaries. This plan was also followed in the remaining counties of the State.

MARICOPA COUNTY.

In Maricopa County, however, a dispute arose as to whether the majority of the committee favored election by primary or by the committee. At the assembling of the county committee in that county on the 15th day of May, the chairman, a Roosevelt man, without waiting for a roll call, or for any motion, forthwith appointed three Roosevelt men to constitute a committee on credentials. While this was still the subject of emphatic protest by the members, this committee within a few minutes returned and reported in favor of seating three proxies, in addition to the members of the committee present in person. These proxies all favored Roosevelt, but none were members of the committee.

A point of order was made that the Chair had acted without authority in arbitrarily naming the committee on credentials. The point of order was overruled by the Chair, whereupon appeal was taken from this decision and sustained. The Chair then reappointed the same committee on credentials, which retired. In the meantime, other proxies had been presented on behalf of members who were absent. The committee, after being out considerably more than an hour, thereupon returned a second report recommending the rejection of all proxies. This committee on credentials was composed exclusively of Roosevelt men, and examination of the proxies disclosed the fact that if allowed, the Taft men would control the committee, but that if all proxies were rejected the Roosevelt men would be in control by a small margin.

It had been the uniform practice to receive proxies of committeemen who were unable to attend, but in this instance it was sought to reject proxies on the ground, which is clearly untenable, that a proxy to be valid must be certified by the county chairman and secretary. The result, in effect, was that two meetings of the Maricopa central committee were held on the 15th, the one following the other, by one of which a call was issued, signed by the chairman, for a primary to elect delegates to the State convention, to be held at Tucson, June 3, 1912, and by the other a call was issued, signed by the secretary of the county committee and a pro tempore chairman, for a meeting of the county committee to select delegates to the said State convention at Tucson, being the plan adopted by a majority of the other counties in the State, including the counties of Cochise and Yuma, where the Roosevelt men were in control. The reason for this action in Maricopa, as in other counties, was the absence of any State law under which the primary could be held.

The call for the election of delegates by the county committee in Maricopa County was signed by a majority of the members of the county central committee, a minority only signing the call for a primary. Contending that the call for a primary was clearly illegal, a majority of the committee advertised extensively in the newspapers of that community for some time prior to May 25, when delegates were to be elected, warning all Republicans, whatever their affiliation, not to participate in the so-called Heard primary, on the ground that it was irregular and unauthorized. This public warning resulted in all of the La Follette following and all but 11 of the Taft Republicans in Maricopa County refusing to participate in the Heard primary. Two sets of delegates to the State convention were thus elected from this county.

STATE CONVENTION.

A short time before the State convention, contests were started in several of the other counties to such an extent that a minority only of the delegates entitled to sit in the convention were uncontested. The chairman of the State central committee, learning of this situation, called a meeting of the executive committee, to be held at Tucson on the morning of June 1, two days before the date set for holding the convention, for the declared purpose of hearing all contests and making up the temporary roll. Notice was given by mail and wire to all county chairmen and all persons claiming to have been elected delegates to present credentials to the executive committee at that time and place. The notice was also given through the newspapers, and contestants admitted full knowledge of the meeting of the committee to make up the temporary roll. The committee was in attendance and prepared to receive credentials and hear contests from June 1, 10 o'clock, to the assembling of the convention on June 3. Two sets of credentials were received from Cochise County, but because of the fact that only the holders of one set appeared in person before the committee to make their argument it was decided to seat both delegations with one-half vote each, to the end that both might have full opportunity to be heard before the credentials committee to be named by the convention. No other contests were presented. Credentials were presented to the State executive committee from all the counties of the State, and the temporary roll of delegates was made up from the credentials as presented.

The State convention assembled on June 3 at the place designated in the original call and was called to order by the chairman of the State central committee. The call was read by the secretary, and the chairman made a full statement of the circumstances under which the temporary roll had been made up. The chairman then read the temporary roll. The chairman then called for nominations for temporary chairman, and J. J. Reddick, whose seat was not in contest, was nominated by an uncontested delegate. At this point objection was made by a person whose name was not on the temporary roll, who stated that he did not recognize the validity of the roll. A point of order was raised and sustained that this person was not a member of the convention. The chairman then asked if there were any other nominations; and none other being made, he put the question, and declared J. J. Reddick elected, and Mr. Reddick took his position as chairman. At about this time a number of persons, including about 17 whose names were on the temporary roll, rushed to the right-hand side of the hall, one of their number mounted the platform, and after 15 or 20 minutes of noise and confusion they left the hall and did not return. The Arizona contest is the result of the proceedings so conducted during that space of time. It is contented that a valid convention was held in this manner and that the Roosevelt delegation, headed by Dwight B. Heard, was elected. A record of this so-called convention was presented, showing the appointment and report of committees and the election of delegates to the national convention. It was conceded that these reports, including that of the committee on credentials, were prepared in advance, that the committees did not retire, and that the reports were signed without change.

It was conceded that the credentials of the contesting delegates from Maricopa County were not presented to the State committee or to the convention presided over by Mr. Reddick or to the committee on credentials appointed by that convention.

The convention presided over by J. J. Reddick remained in the hall and in session for at least two hours and a half. Out of the 93 delegates entitled to sit in the convention, as shown upon the temporary roll, 60 remained in the convention after the bolt, and also the 16 from Cochise County entitled to a half vote each.

The usual committees were appointed and recess taken to await their reports, which were received and adopted by the convention. The temporary roll was accepted and made the permanent roll of the convention; the temporary organization of the convention was made the permanent organization; a number of speeches were made by delegates; a vote of thanks passed to the citizens of Tucson who had arranged for the entertainment and reception of this first Republican convention in the new State; and adjournment had in regular order.

Of the uncontested delegates in the Tucson convention there was a clear majority of Taft delegates, so that had the convention itself made up the temporary roll and only the uncontested delegates been permitted to vote thereon, the Taft delegates would have been in the majority.

The national committee and the committee on credentials decided that this convention was the only regular and legal convention held in the State of Arizona, and that the delegates and alternates elected by it were entitled to seats in the national convention.

ARKANSAS.

Contests from Arkansas were filed with the national committee covering the delegates at large and those from the first, second, third, fourth, fifth, and seventh districts. The national committee seated the Taft delegates from the State at large by a vote of 52 to 0; from the first district by a vote of 49 to 2; from the second district by a vote of 47 to 0; from the third district by a vote of 51 to 0; from the fourth district by a vote of 48 to 0; from the fifth district by a vote of 42 to 10; and from the seventh district by a vote of 44 to 0. The original proposition of the Roosevelt national committeemen in the fifth district was to seat both delegations with a half vote each. This compromise which in itself was an evidence of lack of faith in the contest was voted down. Notice of appeal was given only in the case of the delegates from the first and fifth districts, and the latter case was the only one presented to the committee on credentials.

FIFTH ARKANSAS DISTRICT.

The contesting delegation from the fifth congressional district was represented by Mr. Sid B. Redding, clerk of the Federal courts at Little Rock. He was a contesting delegate before the 1908 convention, but the national committee decided the case against him unanimously, and he did not appeal to the committee on credentials. The organization led by Mr. Redding, which was thus repudiated by the national convention four years ago, did not certify to the proper State election officers the candidate for Congress it named that year. It held no regular meeting in 1910 and did not name a candidate for Congress that year. The organization which was recognized four years ago by the action of the national convention in seating its delegates, placed a candidate for Congress in the field in 1908 and again in 1910, and has been recognized generally as the regular Republican organization of that district. It called a district convention to meet at Little Rock, May 6, 1912, to nominate a candidate for Congress and to elect two delegates and two alternates to the Republican national convention. The Redding faction issued a call for a congressional convention to be held at Little Rock on the same day the regular convention was to meet, but in a different hall, and delegates were directed to be elected at the same time and places as delegates to the regular convention.

There was great disorder in some of the ward meetings in Little Rock; there was some bloodshed and mutual charges of fraud and wrongdoing were made, but delegates were duly elected to the regular Republican convention which met according to the call. All its proceedings were in due and regular form. A contest was presented before the congressional convention from only one county and both contestants were seated with a half vote each. The recognition of the Roosevelt claimants from the fifth congressional district of Arkansas would have meant a repudiation of the action of the national convention of 1908, and the national committee and the committee on credentials which met June, 1912, declined to take such action. Mr. Redding's discredited organization had been defunct for four years, and was apparently resurrected this year only for the purpose of instituting a contest against the regularly elected delegates who were instructed for Taft. Mr. Redding gave but three days' notice of the holding of his congressional convention.

CALIFORNIA.

The facts and the law in the fourth congressional district of California case are very simple, but there has been a very general misunderstanding about both. This congressional district was wholly within the city and county of San Francisco, and was recognized to be a strong pro-Taft district. In the direct presidential preference vote Taft received 9,622 votes in this district, Roosevelt 9,445 votes, and La Follette 3,235 votes. All of the delegates on the Taft ticket received more votes in this district than did any of the delegates on the Roosevelt ticket. Tryon and Meyerfeld, the Taft delegates, received 10,507 votes and 10,531 votes, respectively, and Wheeler and Bancroft, the Roosevelt candidates, 10,240 votes and 10,209 votes, respectively. This statement is certified to by the registrar of voters for the city and county of San Francisco, the official with whom the returns of the primary election were required by law to be filed. An attempt has been made to question this statement of fact because some fourteen election precincts had been divided since the last general election, but there was evidence filed with the national committee showing that the change of boundary lines through these election precincts did not materially change the result, and that as a matter of fact the change, if any, was in favor of Taft. The total vote in these 14 precincts was: Wheeler, 695; Bancroft, 692; Tryon, 662; Meyerfeld, 666. If the votes in these precincts were divided and counted strictly in the district to which they belonged after the boundary lines were changed, the difference in the vote in both districts would not be over 30 votes, and any difference throughout the entire fourth district would be in favor of Taft. There can absolutely be no honest dispute of the claim that the Taft delegates received 200 more votes in this district than the Roosevelt delegates.

When the national committee met in the city of Washington in December, 1911, a very vigorous effort was made to compel recognition of all State primary laws, but the committee finally decided to leave it entirely discretionary with each State and congressional committee whether or not to select delegates to the Chicago convention in that manner. The exact terms of the call of the national committee are as follows:

> * * * provided that delegates and alternates, both from the State at large and from each congressional district, may be elected in conformity with the laws of the State in which the election occurs if the State committee or any such congressional committee so direct; but, provided further, *that in no State shall an election be so held as to prevent the delegates from any congressional district and their alternates being selected by the Republican electors of that district.*

A State-wide primary law like the one now in force in California, which was approved December 24, 1911, after the meeting of the national committee, did in this particular case attempt to prevent the Republican electors of the fourth congressional district of California from selecting their own delegates and alternates. Such a law is an attempt to revive the State unit law which was destroyed in the memorable national convention of 1880. Since that time the congressional district has been the unit of representation in national Republican conventions, and the national committee in its calls has always recognized that right. A State legislature has no more right to establish the unit rule against the will of the national convention than has a State convention. The action of the national convention in seating the two Taft delegates from the fourth congressional district of California was in strict accordance with the law and precedent established in 1880 and followed in unbroken line ever since. If State-wide primary laws had been recognized by Republican national conventions and had become universal, the 90 votes from the State of New York would have been cast as one vote, as they were cast by Mr. Murphy in the Democratic convention at Baltimore, and Roosevelt would have lost 14 votes in that State and 18 in Massachusetts, and a much larger number in the convention as a whole; the unit rule would be obligatory and this would be the end of congressional district representation in Republican national conventions. If one State can fix the basis of membership in a national convention, each State can do the same and hopeless chaos would result.

The Republican Party is a voluntary organization, and it is elementary law that every voluntary organization, whether religious, social, scientific, or political, has the right to fix the basis of membership in its own conventions and is the final judge of membership therein. A State may well prescribe that primaries and caucuses shall be held in a decent and orderly way; that the vote be correctly counted and returned, and may furnish to political parties the machinery for accurately reporting these results. But a State can not go beyond that and attempt to vary the basis of representation in party conventions. It can not, for instance, prescribe that delegates to a given convention shall be elected by the legislature or appointed by the governor, or determine that the representation shall be by county, State, or senatorial district. The apportionment must be made, as has always been done, by the national convention of the party and by its agent, the national committee.

There is no question that Tryon and Meyerfeld, the Taft delegates seated from the fourth congressional district of California, were the delegates who represented that district on the Taft ticket, nor is there any question that Wheeler and Bancroft, who were not seated, represented the same district on the Roosevelt ticket. The California primary law permits two names from each congressional district to be placed on each State-delegate ticket, and these four men were the Taft and Roosevelt candidates from the fourth district. There is nothing in the California primary law requiring any candidate for President to sign or file any petition, affidavit, declaration, statement, or paper of any kind to get his name upon the ballot, and nothing of the kind was done by Taft in this case, except to telegraph his endorsement of the twenty-six delegates representing him.

The Taft delegates in the fourth district exercised the option given them under the primary law and did not sign the delegates' statement binding them to support the candidate receiving the highest number of votes cast throughout the State. This issue being presented to the national committee, it was compelled either to seat the Taft delegates, who had received a majority of the votes in their district, or to abandon the call which it had issued for the convention, and also the sound and salutary practice of the party for upward of 30 years.

It is absolutely irrelevant to the question at issue how much majority the Roosevelt ticket had in the State at large. The fourth district expressed its preference for Taft and the two Taft delegates were clearly entitled to be seated.

INDIANA.

Contests were filed with the national committee against the Taft delegates from Indiana at large and from the first, third, fourth, and thirteenth districts. The Taft delegates at large were placed on the temporary roll by the unanimous vote of the national committee. The contest from the fourth district was abandoned, while those from the first and third districts were decided for the Taft delegates by a unanimous vote and were not appealed to the committee on credentials.

INDIANA AT LARGE.

The Roosevelt contestants from the State of Indiana at large based their claim to be seated in the national convention almost wholly on the charge that the primaries held in the city of Indianapolis were fraudulent. Indianapolis is in Marion County, which constitutes the seventh congressional district. Various charges were made as to the primaries held in the different wards of the city, of unfairness in the appointment of election boards; also in the denial of watchers, in the location of voting places, and in delay in publication of notice of location of voting places; intimidation of city employees and voters generally, fraudulent voting in many wards; that repeaters by the truck load had been hauled from voting place to voting place and voted fraudulently and illegally for the Taft delegates, and failure to keep the proper register of voters. The vote in the primary elections held in the city of Indianapolis, on March 22, 1912, to elect 134 delegates to the State convention of March 26, as set forth and published by the Indianapolis Star, an independent Republican paper, which has been neutral in the contest between Taft and Roosevelt, was as follows by wards and townships:

	Taft.	Roosevelt.	Taft majorities.
First	287	129	158
Second	561	87	474
Third	326	65	261
Fourth	579	113	466
Fifth	444	45	399
Sixth	484	97	387
Seventh	423	141	282
Eighth	472	95	377
Ninth	191	153	38
Tenth	361	59	202
Eleventh	402	117	285
Twelfth	283	14	269
Thirteenth	452	(No ticket.)	456
Fourteenth	232	45	187
Fifteenth	200	26	174
Center Township (outside)	5	(No ticket.)	5
Lawrence Township	32	32	0
Perry Township	24	38	*12
Pike Township	38	27	11
Warren Township	87	55	32
Washington Township	68	68	0
Wayne Township	212	84	128

* Roosevelt.

As shown by the Indianapolis Star, the total vote in the primaries of March 22 resulted as follows:

For Taft delegates	6,163
For Roosevelt delegates	1,480

In Marion County, which includes the city of Indianapolis, it has been the uniform and invariable practice for 20 years, with both political parties, that prior to any and every State, district, county, and city convention, the county or city chairman, as the case may be, announces a credentials committee of prominent and disinterested lawyers who meet immediately on the close of the voting to hear and determine all contests for credentials, the custom being that the chairman of this committee shall issue credentials in the event of contests. The purpose of this committee is to make a patient and painstaking investigation in each case of contest and give to the contesting delegates a fair hearing and more thorough investigation than any convention committee is able to give in the time at its disposal, and report to the convention committee the benefit of its investigation.

Such a committee was appointed in this case, consisting of Republican lawyers of character and standing, who met on the night of March 22 immediately after the primaries for the purpose of hearing all contests that might be presented. Roosevelt contests were presented from all the wards of Indianapolis except the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth; and these contests were given careful hearing. Testimony on behalf of the Roosevelt contestants was presented in all the wards in contest; charges were made that repeaters had voted in several wards, but in no ward did the Roosevelt men then claim that sufficient illegal votes had been cast to change the result.

When the State convention met a committee of credentials was appointed, and eight members of this committee reported in favor of recognizing the Taft delegates from Marion County whose seats were contested, and five members of the committee presented a minority report in favor of the Roosevelt contestants. The minority report of the committee was laid upon the table, and the majority report was adopted by a majority of 105 votes. Complaint was made that the sitting delegates from Marion County were permitted to vote on the title to their own seats, but no appeal was taken from the ruling of the Chair that they were entitled to vote. As a matter of fact, under the call for the State convention, delegates were elected direct to the State convention from each ward in the city of Indianapolis and from each township in Marion County, and the sitting delegates from each ward and township were clearly entitled to vote on the contests from every other ward and township in Marion County.

The Roosevelt contestants who claimed the right to represent the State at large in the Republican national convention were not voted for in the State convention, and their names were not even presented there. They were named at a rump meeting held in the corner of the same hall where the State convention met and after it had adjourned, which rump meeting was attended by not more than 100 of the regularly elected delegates to the State convention.

After the hearing of this case before the national committee, a roll call was had, and the vote was unanimous to sustain the right of the Taft delegates to their seats. Senator Borah and Mr. Frank B. Kellogg, the recognized Roosevelt leaders on the national committee, both stated in casting their votes that the Indianapolis primaries, after all illegal votes were excluded, showed an unquestioned majority in favor of Taft, and for that reason they voted in favor of the Taft delegates to the national convention.

THIRTEENTH INDIANA DISTRICT.

The contest from the thirteenth district was decided for Taft by the national committee by a vote of 36 to 14. The first test of strength in the district convention came in the election of a permanent chairman, when Mr. A. G. Graham, the Taft candidate, was elected by a vote of 71¼ to 70¾, the total vote of the convention being 142. Before the permanent chairman was elected the temporary chairman, who was chairman of the district committee, proposed a set of rules for the government of the convention, which rules were unanimously adopted. The solid vote of Laporte County, consisting of 24 votes, was cast for Graham for chairman. This vote was challenged by a delegate from another county on the ground that there were two or more delegates in the Laporte County delegation who had been instructed as Roosevelt delegates and intended to vote for the Roosevelt candidate for chairman. The chairman of the Laporte County delegation did thereupon poll the vote of his county, appointing for that purpose two tellers, and was then and there assured by all the delegates from said county that the vote as announced (24 for Graham) was correct. No member of the delegation from Laporte County challenged that announcement. Contestants claim that Fulton County, by agreement, cast 4½ votes for Graham as chairman and 5½ votes for Jones, the Roosevelt candidate, whereas there were 4 Taft delegates and 6 Roosevelt delegates in that county. There is no claim, however, that the vote of Fulton County for chairman was challenged by anyone.

The convention proceeded, with Mr. Graham in the chair, to name members of the different committees. When the representatives from Fulton County on the various committees were announced the announcement was challenged and a poll of the Fulton County delegation was demanded. The point in dispute involved the representative from that county on the credentials committee. Chairman Graham, acting under the rule previously adopted by the convention, refused to pass upon the challenge from Fulton County, but stated that the contest, if any was to be made, must be first referred to the committee on credentials and thereafter be submitted to the convention as a whole. When the chairman refused, in accordance with the rule therefore adopted, to poll Fulton County, the Roosevelt delegates in the convention thereupon and thereafter at all stages of the proceedings, created great disturbance and disorder, and by continued shouting and yelling made it impossible for the convention to proceed in an orderly manner. The committee on credentials made a written report in which it overruled the entire six contests filed against the Roosevelt delegates and dismissed the two Roosevelt contests against Taft delegates because they were unsupported by any evidence whatever. The confusion and uproar above referred to into which the convention was thrown lasted for a period of more than three hours.

In the meantime the chairman, with the use of a megaphone, received the nominations of Mr. Studebaker and Mr. Fox, the two Taft delegates, and for the space of 10 or 15 minutes, in a loud voice and through a megaphone, called upon the Roosevelt delegates to make nominations for the same office, but none were announced. No further nominations being made, the chairman called for the vote of the convention. The ayes were called and then the noes, but there were no "noes" upon the motion, the Roosevelt delegates failing or refusing to vote. The chairman thereupon announced the election of the said Taft candidates as delegates to the national convention.

At the hearing before the national committee counsel for the Roosevelt contestants offered affidavits which he claimed would show that a majority of delegates in the convention had not voted for the Taft delegates to the national convention. Objection was made that no such contention had been made in the statement of the case or the brief of the contestants; that the affidavits had not been filed with the national committee, and that there had been no opportunity to see them or to prepare counter affidavits. The national committee allowed the affidavits to be read but did not deem it necessary to grant time for the procuring and filing of counter affidavits. The affidavits were indefinite and loosely drawn, and it was impossible to tell from them whether the affiants intended their statements to apply to the regular convention or the rump convention, to be described later.

Among the 70 affidavits of delegates to the district convention offered by the Roosevelt contestants were four made by persons who averred that they had been elected as delegates and attended the convention with the intention of voting for Roosevelt candidates for delegates to Chicago, who made oath that because of the noise and confusion they did not vote at all upon any question after the election of chairman, and that they left the hall before the rump convention.

It appeared that the result of the vote was not questioned at the district convention, and the result was certified to the national committee by the chairman of the district convention, whose election was admitted to have been valid. To call into question duly declared and certified results of a convention when no question was raised until after it had adjourned would be on a par with questioning an act of the legislature by affidavits of members declaring they had not voted or had not intended to vote on its passage. The convention was held April 2, 1912, and no question was raised as to the vote until the hearing before the national committee, the affidavits upon which the question was based having been secured between May 20 and the day before the national committee took up the case.

After the regular convention had been in session three and one-half hours and had transacted its business and adjourned, a rump convention was held in the same hall by a few Roosevelt followers, not more than 30 in number, which was less than a quorum of the delegates of the regular convention. At this rump convention there was no roll call of the delegates; the persons present did not sit down; no secretary was elected; some rules were adopted after a self-appointed chairman had by viva voce vote declared the election of two delegates and two alternates to the national convention.

There is no question at all that Mr. Graham was duly elected chairman of the regular convention and occupied the chair until after adjournment had been duly declared; nor is there any dispute about the rules which were unanimously adopted before the convention elected its permanent chairman. The chairman acted strictly in accordance with his rights under those rules, and the convention, after a turbulent session of three and a half hours, duly elected the Taft delegates. The proceedings of the rump convention lasted less than five minutes, and that meeting was not attended by all the Roosevelt delegates. Its action was entirely illegal and unwarranted.

KENTUCKY.

In Kentucky contests were filed against the Taft delegation from the State at large and from the first, second, fourth, seventh, eighth, and tenth congressional districts, while Taft contests were filed against the Roosevelt delegates from the eleventh congressional district. The contest from the State at large was decided by the national committee in favor of the Taft delegates by a vote of 38 to 11, from the seventh congressional district by a vote of 38 to 13, from the eighth congressional district by 35 to 17, and in the eleventh congressional district a motion to split the delegation and give 1 vote to Taft and 1 to Roosevelt carried. A demand for a roll call was denied by a vote of 33 to 19. The other contests in Kentucky were decided against the Roosevelt claimants without opposition. The only contests appealed to the committee on credentials were those from the seventh, eighth, and eleventh congressional districts. In the eleventh congressional district both the Taft and Roosevelt attorneys appealed from the compromise made by the national committee.

KENTUCKY AT LARGE.

A contest was filed against only three of the Taft delegates at large from the State of Kentucky. The title of the fourth Taft delegate, J. E. Wood, was not contested. The Roosevelt claimants admit that the State and county conventions were duly called in accordance with the direction of the Republican national committee and that the State convention was held at the time and place indicated in the call. They do not claim that their names were presented to the State convention as delegates to the Republican national convention, and they admit they did not receive any votes in the State convention as such delegates. No other State convention was held. This fact is also admitted. The contention of the Roosevelt claimants is that they would have been elected if the Roosevelt forces had been in control of the State convention. The Roosevelt claim is that by the fraudulent and unlawful acts of the Taft men in the State, and especially of the Federal office holders, the will of the majority of the Republican voters of the State was overruled, set aside, and rejected, and in lieu thereof the choice of the minority was substituted and certified to the State convention. The State convention assembled at Louisville on the 10th day of April, 1912, and remained in session until the evening of the 11th. A committee on credentials, composed of one member from each congressional district, was named by the different district caucuses without any contest whatsoever. Two additional members of the committee were named by the chairman of the convention, in accordance with the rules of the Republican party in the State, and no objection was made to this action. Contests were presented from 19 counties, involving 449 votes, and ample opportunity was given for the presentation of all these contests to the committee on credentials.

It was the Roosevelt contention that the county conventions in seven counties having a vote of 120 in the State convention were conducted by such fraudulent methods as to prevent any expression of the views and choice of the Republicans present and desiring to participate therein, and by reason thereof said voters were not given an opportunity to indicate their choice or to select delegates. In none of these counties, however, was any contest presented before the committee on credentials of the State convention. The committee on credentials was composed of eleven Taft men and three Roosevelt men. This committee reported that 449 delegates were in contest, out of a total number of 2,356 delegates to which the convention was entitled. The committee recommended the seating of 336½ Taft delegates and 112½ Roosevelt delegates, and this report was adopted by the convention by a vote of 1,872 to 434. A minority report was made by persons entitled to 2½ votes on the committee on credentials. This minority report did not recommend the seating of any delegates from any county, but requested the setting aside of the official call of the Republican State central committee, dated February 14, 1912, convening the said State convention, and that in lieu of the State convention a State-wide presidential primary be held. The minority report of the committee on credentials was put to a vote of the convention and received less than 500 votes. The Roosevelt delegates for the most part remained in the State convention and participated in all its proceedings. The convention adjourned without protest or bolt of any kind or description. No notice of any contest was given until the Roosevelt claimants filed one with the national committee, which notice was received on May 29.

If the seats in the State convention as to which any notice of contest was given, 449 in number, had all been given to Roosevelt, it would have made the entire Roosevelt vote in the State convention 297 votes less than a majority. The election of the three Taft delegates at large, Senator W. O. Bradley, Judge James Breathitt, and W. D. Cochran, whose seats were contested, was made unanimous by the State convention. The remaining delegate, J. E. Wood, was elected by a tremendous preponderance of the vote and his seat was not contested.

The three Roosevelt claimants from the State of Kentucky make no claim that they were named as delegates to represent the State in the national convention by any person or persons whomsoever. In no case presented before the national committee were louder and more insistent cries made that the Taft delegates had been elected by fraud and illegal practices. There was an absolute failure of proof to sustain these charges. The national committee found the charges unfounded, and the case was not appealed to the committee on credentials or to the convention itself.

SEVENTH KENTUCKY DISTRICT.

The district convention in the seventh congressional district was regularly called, and all its proceedings were strictly in accord with law and party custom. The total vote of the convention was 145. There were contests from four counties, involving 95 votes. According to the rules of the party in Kentucky, where two sets of credentials are presented those delegates whose credentials are approved by the county chairman are entitled to participate in the temporary organization.

The convention proceeded on the rolls thus made up, and elected Charles M. Wiard, the Taft candidate, temporary chairman by 98 votes to 47 votes cast for the Roosevelt candidate. The committee on credentials was appointed, consisting of one member named by each county delegation. This committee was in session several hours and gave every person interested ample opportunity to be heard. The report of the committee was signed by every member of the committee except Henry T. Duncan, the Roosevelt candidate for delegate to the national convention, and recommended the seating of the Taft contesting delegation from Fayette County and the seating of the regular delegations in all other counties except in Woodford County, where it was recommended that the Taft delegates be unseated. Mr. Duncan signed the report as to Woodford County, but presented a minority report as to all other counties in the dispute. The majority report of the committee was adopted unanimously, no delegation whose seats were contested being permitted to vote on its own case. As soon as the majority report of the credentials committee had been adopted, the Roosevelt adherents left the courthouse where the convention was sitting and held another convention. The counties conceded for Taft had 50 votes. The Fayette County delegation, with 47 contested votes, was absolutely essential to the success of the Roosevelt side, while the Taft delegates could have been elected without it.

FAYETTE COUNTY.

In Kentucky county conventions, except in two or three counties having the largest cities, are mass conventions held at the county courthouse. The city of Lexington is the county seat of Fayette County. In the county convention held in this county the testimony of disinterested witnesses shows that the Taft forces were in a majority by from 100 to 500 votes. The chairman of the county committee called the convention to order and asked for a vote on the question of the election of a temporary chairman. Before the vote was announced the Taft men asked for tellers to count the vote. The chairman refused to permit a count of the vote and arbitrarily declared the Roosevelt candidate elected temporary chairman. It was the first time such a count had ever been refused in Fayette County in a Republican convention since the Civil War. The majority of the Republicans present thereupon proceeded to hold another convention in the same hall and elected delegates to the district convention and to the state convention. Every member of the committee on credentials of the district convention except Mr. Duncan voted to seat the Taft delegates from Fayette

County, and every delegate in the district convention except the delegates from Fayette County, who were not permitted to vote upon their own contest, voted to sustain the report of the credentials committee. The same action was taken by the committee on credentials of the State convention. The Roosevelt Republicans claimed that they were in a majority in the Fayette County convention. If that were true, the chairman of the county committee who called the convention to order would not have refused to permit a count of the vote as was rightfully demanded.

SCOTT COUNTY.

The delegation from Scott County, with 18 votes, was in contest. This county convention was duly called to order, nominations were made for temporary chairman, and tellers were appointed to count the vote. Before the vote could be counted the Roosevelt men left the hall. Testimony was furnished from several public officers of high standing, all disinterested, showing that the Taft men were largely in a majority in the convention. The county convention proceeded with its business and elected delegates to both district and State conventions. In both of these last-named conventions the committee on credentials recommended the seating of the Taft delegates and both conventions adopted the report of its committee on credentials.

FRANKLIN COUNTY.

The Franklin County convention elected 16 Taft delegates to the district convention. Immediately after the convention organized by the election of a temporary chairman, and before any other business could be transacted, the Roosevelt followers bolted and went into the courthouse yard, where they held a convention. There was ample disinterested testimony that the Taft men in this county convention outnumbered the Roosevelt men by over two to one. The committee on credentials of the district convention decided the contest in this county in favor of the Taft Republicans. The report was adopted by the convention. The State convention decided this contest the same way.

WOODFORD COUNTY.

Woodford County was entitled to 14 votes in the convention. In the county convention held in this county the chairman of the county committee, a Taft man, refused to grant a count of the votes cast for temporary chairman, and the committee on credentials of the district convention, following the rule laid down in the Fayette County case, unseated the Taft delegates from Woodford County and seated the Roosevelt delegates.

The district convention, after the Roosevelt bolt, proceeded in a regularly and orderly way and elected the two delegates to the national convention, who were placed upon the temporary and permanent rolls of the convention.

EFFECT OF CHANGE OF DISTRICT LINES BY LAW PASSED AFTER CONVENTION CALLED.

Another point which was raised, in the contests from the seventh, eighth, tenth, and eleventh Kentucky districts, was the fact that after the Republican congressional conventions had all been called in that State the legislature, which was then in session, redistricted the State for congressional purposes and changed the boundaries of these districts. All of these district conventions were duly held in accordance with the call of the district committees and in accordance with the regulations laid down by the national committee without reference to the changes made in the boundaries of the districts by the State legislature.

Every county sent its duly accredited delegates to the district conventions, composed of delegates from the counties constituting each district as it existed at the time the district committee made its call. No county sent a duly accredited delegation to the congressional convention of the district to which that county had been transferred by the redistricting act of the legislature. This action was taken by direction of the Republican State committee and was generally acquiesced in to prevent confusion. Had these district conventions been composed of delegates from the counties included in the new districts instead of the old districts, the result would have been the same and Taft delegates would have been elected to the national convention. All these district conventions were held under the terms of the call of their respective district committees, and their action can not be invalidated by the fact that subsequent to the issuing of the calls the legislature redistricted the congressional districts. This was the only point involved in the contest from the tenth congressional district of Kentucky, and that contest was not appealed to the committee on credentials of the national convention.

EIGHTH KENTUCKY DISTRICT.

In the eighth Kentucky district the Roosevelt forces bolted the regular convention and held a rump convention. This district as constituted when the call for the convention was issued was composed of ten counties, having 163 votes, of which 82 were necessary to a choice. There was absolutely no contest in five of the counties. Shelby County sent a contesting Roosevelt delegation to the district convention, but they were elected at a rump county convention in which less than 20 Republicans participated, while there were more than 200 Taft men who participated in the regular convention. The Roosevelt men abandoned their claim to the vote of Shelby County. The Roosevelt men claim that Spencer County, with six votes, elected a Roosevelt delegation. As a matter of fact there was absolutely no contest presented from Spencer County against the seating of the regularly elected Taft delegates from that county. All of these six counties were represented in the district convention by delegates who were present and voted for the Taft delegates to the national convention, giving them 84 votes, or two more than were necessary for a choice.

Contests were filed with the district convention from Boyle, Garrard, Madison, and Mercer Counties. In Boyle County it was agreed that the vote of the county in the district convention should be equally divided. The committee on credentials and the district convention unanimously agreed to uphold this agreement. Two conventions were held in Madison County. The Roosevelt followers, headed by Hon. B. J. Clay, bolted the regular convention. The evidence is overwhelming that the Taft forces were largely in the majority. When the vote was being taken for a temporary chairman the Roosevelt followers, feeling that they were defeated, demanded that tellers be elected instead of appointed as was the general custom. The chairman offered to appoint tellers, but refused to permit them to be elected, whereupon the Roosevelt minority bolted. A large number of Democrats and negroes under age took part in the Roosevelt convention, and there is ample evidence that a majority of the legal Republican voters present at the county convention were for Taft. The committee on credentials of the district convention reported in favor of seating the Taft delegates from Madison County, and the report was adopted. In the Mercer County convention both the Taft and Roosevelt men claim to have had a majority of the legal voters. The first count not being satisfactory to all, the convention unanimously agreed that the secretary, Mr. James P. Spillman, should make a count of both sides and that the convention would abide by his count. His count showed that the Taft men were in a majority. The Roosevelt men thereupon left the convention, with the exception of Mr. Riker, who helped to make the count and who knew that Taft had a majority. No contest was filed from this county by the Roosevelt men at the district convention. There were only two counties that did file contests in the district convention. Conceding both of them to Roosevelt leaves over 100 uncontested votes in favor of Taft out of 163. The Boyle County delegation had by agreement been equally divided. The tellers in that county convention agreed that Taft had the majority, but the chairman refused to recognize the count.

Complaint is made that Judge L. W. Bethurum, of Rockcastle County, a county not in the new district, called the district convention to order as chairman of the district committee. As has been shown above, however, all the district conventions in Kentucky were held in accordance with the apportionment of the State for congressional purposes before the legislature passed the redistricting bill. The Roosevelt contestants before the national convention admitted that the report of the credentials committee seating the Taft delegates from the various counties in the district was adopted in the district convention, and that by the convention thus organized the Taft delegates to Chicago were elected. The contestants further set forth in their brief that in the same hall and immediately after the adjournment of the regular convention which elected Taft delegates the Roosevelt contestants were elected. In this rump convention sat Roosevelt delegates from Mercer, Spencer, and Shelby Counties, although the delegation from Shelby County was expressly conceded to Taft, and no contests were ever filed against the right of the regularly elected Taft delegates from Spencer and Mercer Counties to their seats in the district convention.

Assuming that the Roosevelt men were entitled to all the delegates from the counties in which they filed contests in the district convention, there remained a clear majority of uncontested delegates who voted for the Taft delegates to Chicago.

ELEVENTH KENTUCKY DISTRICT.

The eleventh congressional district of Kentucky is composed of 19 counties, entitled to 384 votes in the district convention. At the mass convention held at each county seat in the district on April 6, 1912, four counties with 114 votes were instructed for Taft, five counties with 100 votes instructed for Roosevelt, two counties with 47 votes instructed for Taft but were contested, four counties with 103 votes were instructed for Roosevelt but were contested, while in Clay County, with 20 votes, the vote was divided half and half. All the delegates elected to the district convention were elected at the same time that delegates were elected to the State convention. Four of the counties in the district sent contesting delegations to the State convention, which body, after a full and careful hearing, seated the Taft delegates. The Taft delegates from these counties were entitled by the same evidence to seats in the congressional convention, and would have been so seated had the Republican party law and custom in Kentucky been followed. The Republican party in Kentucky is controlled by a set of rules and regulations, regularly adopted by the party, and followed without a break for many years, serving as the constitution of the party in the State. By that law and custom, in all district conventions a committee of credentials is made up of one delegate from each county who is named by the county delegation attending the district convention. Had that law and custom been followed in this case, the majority of the members of that committee from uncontested counties would have been Taft men, and the lawfully elected Taft delegates in the contesting delegations would have been seated.

The convention was called to order by the chairman of the congressional committee, who was a Roosevelt man. Instead of proceeding in the accustomed manner to call for the appointment of a committee on credentials, he entertained a motion for the chair to appoint a committee of five, and in the midst of great confusion he declared the motion carried. The chair appointed four Roosevelt men, and one Taft man who declined to serve on an illegally constituted committee. This committee reported every contest in favor of the Roosevelt men. The Taft followers thereupon bolted the convention, taking with them 284 lawfully elected Taft delegates out of the total membership of 384, and proceeded to elect two Taft delegates to the Chicago convention. On account of the great mass of conflicting testimony presented to the national committee in this case, that committee by a vote of 33 to 19 decided to compromise the contest by seating one Taft delegate and one Roosevelt delegate, although both sides expressed their dissatisfaction with this result and appealed the case to the committee on credentials. The matter was presented to the committee on credentials, and the two delegates placed upon the temporary roll were by unanimous vote placed upon the permanent roll.

LOUISIANA.

Contests have been brought to the national convention involving the delegates at large and most of the district delegates from the

State of Louisiana at every convention since 1876 except the convention for 1884. During all of this time there have been two wings of the Republican party in the State. In the national convention of 1908 both delegations from Louisiana were seated with a half vote each, under a resolution that "A committee to be composed of the chairman, secretary, and one member of the incoming national committee, be empowered to formulate a plan for the thorough reorganization of the party throughout the State of Louisiana."

In February, 1912, this subcommittee of the national committee, consisting of Mr. Ralph Williams, of Oregon, representing the chairman, Mr. Wm. Hayward, the secretary, and Mr. E. C. Duncan, of North Carolina, went to Louisiana and made a thorough investigation, interviewing all the party leaders who could possibly be reached, regardless of faction or color. Before proceeding with its deliberations, the following agreement was signed by 10 men, 5 from each side, who were duly authorized to represent both factions:

> NEW ORLEANS, LA., February 21, 1912.
>
> The undersigned agree to submit to Messrs. Duncan, Williams, and Hayward, of the national committee, all questions of contest between the two factions, and also to decide what questions of contest should be properly decided, and we pledge ourselves to be bound by the award rendered by them.

The subcommittee of the national committee, after hearing all the evidence, found that the action of the State committee taken a few days previous was illegal, in that it refused to seat 11 duly elected members of the State committee, and that the election of officers of the committee and the call for a State convention, in the absence of these legally elected members, were illegal and must be annulled, and ordered the State committee to meet not later than March 8. Mr. Frank B. Williams was originally elected chairman of the State central committee. Mr. Emil Kuntz was leader of the faction refused recognition by Mr. Williams in his committee. Mr. Williams refused to abide by the decision of the subcommittee of the national committee because of his pronounced lily-white views and because nearly all the Republicans ordered by the subcommittee to be recognized as members of the State central committee were colored men. The decision of the subcommittee was also repudiated by Mr. Pearl Wight, member of the national committee, and two others, all members of the Williams faction, who claimed that they signed the above agreement under duress.

The new State committee met March 8 in accordance with the direction of the subcommittee, elected Victor Loisel chairman, and called a State convention to meet in Alexandria April 6. This State convention was duly held in accordance with the call, and was a large and representative gathering of Republicans, with delegates present from every parish in the State except three, and elected a delegation to the national convention which was instructed for Taft and was headed by C. S. Hebert.

The Williams-Wight faction proceeded to hold the convention originally called, the call for which had been ordered to be annulled by the subcommittee. This convention split into two bodies, both of which named delegates to the national convention. In both of these bodies the majority of the delegates present appear on the registration lists as Democrats in politics.

The national committee by a vote of 50 to 2 refused to sustain the contest against the Hebert-Taft delegation. The Taft delegates from all of the districts were also retained in their seats, in the third, fourth, and fifth congressional districts by viva voce vote, which, in at least one district, the third, was unanimous. The contests in the first, second, sixth, and seventh districts were abandoned. None of these contests were appealed to the committee on credentials except those from the fourth and fifth districts, and the Taft delegates from these districts were retained in their seats for the same reasons that caused the defeat of the contest against the Taft delegates from the State at large.

MICHIGAN.

The contest from Michigan involved the question of who were the rightfully elected delegates at large (six in number) from that State. The number of delegates entitled to seats in the State convention was 1,312.

The State convention was called to meet at Bay City April 11, 1912. On April 6 the secretary of the Republican State central committee called a meeting of that committee to be held at Bay City the evening before the State convention was to meet. When the secretary called this meeting of the State committee the chairman of the committee was out of the State and his whereabouts was unknown. On the same date he telegraphed to the secretary from Chicago, Ill., stating he did not think it was advisable to call a meeting of the State committee at the time designated by the secretary in his call. Subsequent to the issuing of the said notice by the secretary a majority of the members of the committee, 15 out of a total membership of 24, joined in a call for said meeting. In the absence of the chairman of the committee the secretary had the right to call the committee together, and his action was ratified by the committee itself. A quorum of the State committee, 17 members out of 24, attended the meeting called for

April 10. An acting chairman was elected, a temporary roll of the convention was prepared, and the secretary was instructed to distribute tickets of admission to the convention.

Only two counties sent contesting delegations to the State convention—one from Wayne County, in which Detroit is located, involving 192 delegates, and one from Calhoun County, with 27 delegates. There was precedent in Michigan for the State committee to make up the temporary roll of the State convention, and due notice was given the manager of the Michigan Roosevelt campaign committee that the State committee would hear any contests which might be presented, but no contest was presented to the State committee. At this meeting of the State committee the secretary was authorized to distribute the tickets to the chairmen of the different delegations who were authorized by the committee to be seated in the temporary organization.

At the meeting of the committee held January 17, 1912, Hon. Truman H. Newberry, of Detroit, had been designated temporary chairman of the convention. That action was rescinded at the meeting of April 10, because Mr. Newberry had become a manager and active agent for one of the candidates for the Presidency and because he had stated he would permit no roll calls in the convention; that he would take all votes viva voce; that he would decide all questions by what he determined to be a preponderance of sound; and that he would be influenced by his personal leanings in making his decision. Mr. Newberry acquiesced in this action of the State committee and made no attempt to act as temporary chairman of the State convention.

Early on the morning of April 11, the day the State convention was to meet, the temporary secretary of the convention and the temporary sergeant-at-arms endeavored to enter the local armory where the convention was to meet, but found it in possession of the local militia and a detachment of local police and were refused admission. Later in the morning the State central committee made formal demand for possession of the armory and were admitted. The chairman of the State committee, Mr. Frank Knox, was found within the armory seated upon the platform. The committee assembled upon the platform and called upon Chairman Knox to preside. He refused to comply with this request, whereupon the committee proceeded again to elect an acting chairman, a majority of the members of the committee being present and voting "aye." The committee instructed the sergeant-at-arms to admit no person to the hall except those who presented tickets bearing the signature of the secretary.

The tickets for the State convention were issued on the morning of the day that body met and in ample time for use. Distribution was made at the leading hotel in the city. The distribution commenced at the hour of 9.30 a. m. and continued during the entire time the convention was in session. The distribution was strictly in accordance with the instructions of the State central committee. Tickets were distributed in a public place and there was common knowledge that it was being done. Thence was no discrimination in the distribution of the tickets, and there was absolutely no excuse for any delegate failing to secure his ticket. The four roll calls taken during the State convention showed that practically all the delegates had secured tickets and were present. When the convention hall was ready for use the doors were opened and were kept open at all times except for a short period when a crowd attempted to rush into the hall in a body. At that time the doors were shut until more adequate police protection could be obtained, when they were again opened and kept open. During the brief time the doors were closed as many Taft delegates were excluded from the hall as Roosevelt delegates.

The State convention was called to order by the chairman of the Republican State central committee, Mr. Frank Knox. The secretary of the committee addressed the chairman, advising him and the convention that the State central committee had chosen Hon. Grant Fellows as temporary chairman. He thereupon took the chair and called the convention to order, and the call for the convention was read by the secretary. Mr. Knox was attempting to act as chairman at the same time, and he declared Herbert F. Baker elected temporary chairman of the convention. Chairman Fellows recognized a notion to make Herbert F. Baker temporary chairman, and put the question to the convention and ordered a roll call thereon. The vote stood: Ayes 67, noes 818. In the meantime, the State chairman, Frank Knox, and about 50 others proceeded to make all the noise possible, occupying one end of the platform and the space immediately in front thereof. These disturbers soon got tired and left the hall, accompanied by a few of the delegates, but not to exceed 200 delegates bolted the convention. At all times until the adjournment of the convention nearly 1,000 delegates were present and participated in the proceedings. Four separate roll calls were had—one upon the question of nominating Mr. Baker temporary chairman; secondly, upon the adoption of the report of the committee on credentials when the vote was: Ayes 946, noes 18, not voting 6; again upon the adoption of the report of the committee on permanent organization and order of business on which the vote stood: Ayes 926, nays 7, reported not voting 27. The roll was also called upon the election of delegates at large to the national convention, on which roll 975 votes were cast, of which there were: Ayes 900, nays 21, not voting 52. The Roosevelt contestants admit that the convention commenced business with about 800 delegates, not including the Taft delegates from Wayne and Calhoun Counties. The record shows that on every one of the four roll calls except the first from 960 to 975 votes were cast. *Subtracting from this total vote the vote of the two counties in contest, the convention would still have been in the control of the Taft delegates.* Ample opportunity was given the Roosevelt contestants from Wayne and Calhoun Counties to present their claims to the committee on credentials. Any statement to the contrary is without foundation. They refused to avail themselves of the opportunity.

CALHOUN AND WAYNE COUNTIES.

There was testimony showing that the Roosevelt followers in the county convention held in Calhoun County were in the minority, but that by their noisy, boisterous, and disorderly tactics they refused to allow the convention to proceed in an orderly manner. When it became apparent that the Roosevelt delegates would not come to order in the convention, the convention proceeded regularly to the transaction of its business, and when that had been accomplished, adjourned. The county convention for Wayne County met in Detroit April 5. Very shortly after it was called to order about 25 or 30 men, some of whom were not even delegates to the convention, gathered on one side of the hall where the convention was being held, and led by Charles A. Nichols, the Roosevelt manager in Michigan and Wayne County, who was not a delegate to the Republican convention, proceeded to create a disturbance by shouting and gesticulating, which disturbance continued for a few minutes, when the disturbers, led by Nichols, left the convention hall. This statement is testified to by over twenty of the leading citizens of Detroit, county and city officials, professional men, bankers, lawyers, and business men, who swear that Nichols and his following did not exceed 45 men; that after they left the hall the convention proceeded to its business in regular form and was in session for about two hours; that there was no contest brought before the committee on credentials by any voting precinct in Wayne County; that every delegate who sat in the convention presented due and lawful credentials, and no one was allowed to sit in said convention except those who were duly and properly elected under the call of the county committee.

The entire record in this case shows an utter absence of foundation for the contest which was brought against the Taft delegates. The national committee decided the case without division.

MISSISSIPPI.

Contests were filed against the Taft delegates from Mississippi at large, and in all of the eight congressional districts of the State except the third. The contests from the first and eighth districts were abandoned before the national committee and never presented there. All the other contests in the State were decided against the Roosevelt contestants, without division being called for in the national committee. The contests were of the most frivolous character, in every case a mere handful of men assembling together and pretending to hold a convention for the sole purpose of getting up a contest. In the second district, for example, one Jonas Avant, who tried to address the regular convention but was refused permission because he was not a delegate and not a qualified elector, with five other men, none of whom were delegates, and two of whom were Democrats, went to the back part of a store building in the town where the district convention was being held and pretended to hold a convention. They were citizens of only two counties out of the nine constituting the congressional district.

SIXTH MISSISSIPPI DISTRICT.

The regular convention in the sixth district was an orderly and harmonious body, which proceeded in a businesslike way to do what it had to do and attracted considerable attention in the town of six or seven hundred people where it met. There was no other convention held in that town that day. The two Roosevelt contestants from this district were J. M. Leverett and Charles H. Hays. Several witnesses of the highest standing, residents of the town where the convention was held, testified to seeing these two men in town the forenoon of the day of the convention, but that both of them left on a 12.40 train, the train which brought into town most of the delegates to the convention, and that neither of them was seen about the town after that hour. This is a fair sample of the contests brought against the Taft delegates from Mississippi. *The contests from the State at large and from the second, fifth, and sixth districts were appealed to the committee on credentials and presented in a perfunctory way by the counsel for contestants, but they were all so utterly without merit that they were decided by the credentials committee against the Roosevelt contestants without division.*

MISSOURI.

In Missouri contests were filed against the Roosevelt delegates from the State at large and from the fifth district, and contests were also filed against the Taft delegates from the first, third, seventh, and fourteenth congressional districts. The only case passed upon by the national committee was that concerning the delegates at large, which was decided unanimously in favor of the Roosevelt delegates. The other contests from the State were settled by an agreement giving Roosevelt the delegates from the first and fifth districts and giving Taft the delegates from the third, seventh, and fourteenth congressional districts. *None of these cases were presented to the committee on credentials, both the Taft and Roosevelt leaders in Missouri being content to abide by the settlement made before the national committee.*

FIFTH MISSOURI DISTRICT.

To show that the compromise was a real one and that actual ground of contest existed against the Roosevelt delegates a statement of the case in the fifth congressional district is given.

The district committee, which was composed largely or wholly of Roosevelt men, ordered a primary for the 7th day of March, 1912. Under the Missouri laws it is a misdemeanor for any one but an enrolled voter to vote in a primary. The last previous enrollment was in October, 1910, 18 months before the primary. In places like Kansas City the voting population rapidly changes on account of changes in residence and a supplemental enrollment preliminary to the Kansas City election was to begin March 12. It resulted on that day in the addition of 24,469 names to the voting list. As the district is usually Republican, probably fully 12,000 Republicans were disfranchised by the call of the committee. A storm of protest immediately followed the issuance of the call, and Republicans everywhere were urged to ignore it. In addition to this disfranchisement the committee provided that no one's name should go on the ballot which it was itself to prepare, as a candidate for membership in the convention, except upon the payment of $2 for each candidate, and the membership of the convention was fixed at 415. The result was that a tax was attempted to be levied of $830 each, on the Taft, La Follette and Cummins adherents in case they placed their names upon the ballot. A still further payment of $6 for each polling place was demanded, which carried the prepayment demanded of each presidential candidate up to $986; and the evidence indicated that the total expense to the committee for the primaries was only $148.75.

The result was that no candidates for delegates were presented by the Taft, La Follette, or Cummins people, and only the "Roosevelt Republican Association delegation" went on the ballot. A preferential expression was provided for on the ballot, which without the slightest authority contained the names of Mr. Taft, Mr.

La Follette, and Mr. Cummins. Only Roosevelt men participated in the primaries, and of course an overwhelming victory was shown in his favor, which was exploited all over the country. The organization being in the hands of the Roosevelt men, the Taft adherents did the only thing in their power and called mass conventions in the various wards and precincts, held a convention, and elected the Taft delegates, who were the contestants. The position taken by the Taft people before the national committee was consistent throughout all the contests, viz., that unless intentional disfranchisement or falsification of returns was shown, regularity of procedure and duly accredited certificates from regular conventions should prevail. In this case, however, it was claimed, and with good reason, that there had been a deliberate disfranchisement of Republican voters and wholly unwarranted conditions attached.

NORTH CAROLINA.

There were contests from the third, fourth, and ninth North Carolina districts, but none of the contestees or contestants were claimed for Taft.

THIRD OKLAHOMA DISTRICT.

In the third congressional district of Oklahoma two conventions were held and two sets of delegates and alternates were elected to represent the district in the Chicago convention. Both conventions were held under the same call, on the same day, and in the same city, but in different halls, on March 14. The call for the convention did not designate the hall where the convention was to be held. On the morning of the day fixed for holding the convention the congressional committee met, all of the 19 counties composing the district being represented by the duly elected committeemen or by proxy. Three counties—Tulsa, Delaware, and Cherokee—were in contest and the delegations from these counties held the balance of power in the convention. The congressional committee was made up of 12 Taft men and 7 Roosevelt men. The chairman, W. S. Cochran, was a Roosevelt man, and he attempted by unfair and arbitrary rulings to overcome the will of the majority of the committee. He refused to allow the committee to elect its own choice as secretary in the absence of the regular secretary and ruled out one proxy and recognized another proxy, refusing to allow the committee to determine its own membership. On one roll, with 11 votes one way and 8 votes another, the chairman announced the result of the vote exactly opposite to the real fact.

In this situation written charges were preferred against the chairman, based upon his illegal and high-handed conduct, and a motion to sustain the charges against the chairman and declare his position vacant was put to the committee and was carried by a vote of 11 members of the committee who were present. Cochran thereupon announced the committee adjourned to 1.30 p. m., although the hour of 11 was fixed for the convention, and the committee had not yet finished its business, and with a minority of the committee walked out of the room. The majority of the committee which remained continued its business by electing a chairman and secretary, proceeded to make up the temporary roll for the convention, and appointed a place for it to meet, and the regular district convention was accordingly held at the place appointed by the committee in the World Building in Tulsa at 11 o'clock a. m., of which ample notice was given to all delegates. This convention was duly called to order; the temporary roll prepared by the congressional committee was made the permanent roll; a majority of the delegates duly elected to the convention were in attendance, and Judge Joseph A. Gill and Mr. J. W. Gilliland were elected delegates to the national convention. The credentials of the delegates to the district convention, certified to by the chairman and secretaries of the several county committees, remained in the possession of the majority of the congressional committee and were filed with the national committee with the other records in the case. Every county in the district had its representation and vote in the regular convention, and no person properly accredited as delegate was excluded or debarred from participating in its proceedings. The call for the convention expressly provided that the delegates actually in attendance from any county could cast the entire vote for that county.

The right of Mr. Cochran to act as chairman of the committee was disputed because he had moved from one county in the district to another county in the district and both of these counties had other representatives upon the committee. When Cochran was removed as chairman and withdrew from the meeting of the committee only one regularly elected member of the committee went with him; the others who left the hall at that time being all either proxies or appointees of the said Cochran. Of the 11 members voting to depose Cochran, 9 members of the committee were present in person and 2 were represented by proxies. As both the county of Cochran's former residence and the county to which he had removed had their representatives present at the meeting of the committee, it was clear that Cochran did not represent any county, and therefore had no right to act as a member of the committee.

Assuming that all the committee who went out with Cochran had the right to act on the committee, it left the committee standing 12 for Taft and 7 for Roosevelt, so it was simply a question whether a majority of the committee had the right to control its action or a minority.

After Cochran was deposed as chairman of the committee and walked out of the committee meeting with less than a quorum of its members, he called a meeting to order in the Grand Opera House, which meeting called itself the congressional convention of the third congressional district of Oklahoma, and proceeded to elect delegates to the national convention. This meeting was not attended by a majority of the duly elected delegates to the convention. It did not have the credentials from the various counties, and its membership was largely made up of bystanders who had not been duly accredited by any county in the district. Its action was entirely without authority.

On the showing of facts thus made, which was amply supported by testimony, the national committee retained the Taft delegates in their seats without division and its action was sustained by the committee on credentials.

FIRST SOUTH CAROLINA.

In the first congressional district of South Carolina a contest was presented before the national committee, but it was of the most frivolous character. The convention was regularly called and consisted of 32 delegates. After the convention had duly organized 4 of the delegates walked out, 1 of whom afterwards returned. The convention proceeded with its business and elected Taft delegates to the national convention. Twenty-eight of the regularly elected delegates to the convention out of 32 signed a statement that they had participated in the proceedings of the convention and had voted for the Taft delegates. These delegates were held entitled to their seats by the unanimous vote of the national committee, and the contest was not appealed to the committee on credentials.

TENNESSEE.

Tennessee contests were filed in the first, second, ninth, and tenth districts. In the first and tenth districts both sets of delegates claimed to be for Taft. In the first, second, and ninth districts the question at issue was which was the regular Republican organization. In the first district that organization was recognized which nominated and elected the present Republican Congressman from that district, Hon. Sam R. Sells.

SECOND TENNESSEE DISTRICT.

In the second district that organization was recognized which nominated and elected twice in succession the present Republican Congressman from that district, Hon. Richard W. Austin. T. A. Wright and John J. Jennings were regularly elected delegates. There have been two organizations in this district, each claiming to be the regular Republican organization. Wright and Jennings were elected by the organization which was duly recognized in 1910 by the Republican national congressional committee as the regular Republican organization of said district. It elected Hon. R. W. Austin a Member of Congress in 1908 and 1910, and there can be no question that the Austin organization was the one which was entitled to representation in the national convention.

The congressional committee met December 30, 1911, and called a district convention to meet March 9 at the courthouse in Knoxville. The action of this committee was unanimous on all questions. This district is composed of 10 counties. Due notice was given of the congressional convention.

When the convention met March 9 the delegations from 5 of the 10 counties reported no contests. Contests were reported in two counties under a mistaken apprehension of facts and were abandoned. *This made 59 delegates which were entirely uncontested out of a possible total of 108 in the convention.*

The contests from the three other counties were referred by the congressional committee to the convention itself. Under party law and authority in Tennessee the congressional committee has the authority to make up the temporary roll of the convention, but in the case of these three contests the entire matter was referred to the convention. This left 49 delegates whose right to seats in the convention was held in suspense.

After the temporary organization of the convention, a committee on credentials was appointed and retired from the hall to hear the contests. Instead of presenting their case to the committee on credentials, the contestants from these three counties abandoned their contests and held a bolting convention. The committee on credentials thereupon made a report seating Republicans from these three counties claiming to have been regularly elected. When the other contestants from these three counties refused to submit their case to the credentials committee they lost whatever right they had to seats in the convention. The delegations from two counties which were reported for Roosevelt remained in the regular convention and took part in the proceedings. T. A. Wright and John J. Jennings were elected delegates to Chicago by this the only regular Republican convention held in the second congressional district of Tennessee.

After the bolters had held their convention on March 9, they realized their action was not regular and caused to be resurrected a remnant of what was known as the old Hale congressional committee, which had been discredited and repudiated by the Republican congressional committee in 1910, and through that repudiated committee called a new congressional convention. Seven of the counties in the district absolutely refused to send delegates to this rump convention.

Hon. John C. Houk and Judge H. B. Lindsay, contestants, had no claim moreover to seats in the national convention, for the further reason that they took part in the county mass conventions called by order of the Austin congressional committee. Having thereby recognized the Austin organization as the regular Republican organization in the district, and having taken part in the county conventions called by said organization, they were thereby estopped from attempting to deny the legality of the Austin organization and had no right to organize or take part in any other organization acting in conflict therewith.

NINTH TENNESSEE DISTRICT.

In the ninth congressional district of Tennessee there are two organizations which claim to be the regular Republican organization of the district. Both organizations nominated candidates for Congress two years ago, and the Republicans of the district expressed their choice between the two organizations by casting 1,406 votes for the organization which later elected the regular Taft delegates to the Republican national convention, as against 940 votes for the candidate representing the organization which elected the Roosevelt delegates, and the State executive committee in the election of 1910 recognized that organization which elected the Taft delegates in 1912 as the regular organization in that district. The head of the Roosevelt organization is G. T. Taylor, of Union City, who is the State treasurer, having been elected by the Democratic legislature of the State, and the chairman of the committee, Mr. Burdick, supported the Democratic candidate for governor in 1910 as against the regular Republican candidate and made public boast of it. The Taylor organization held one convention on March 26 and instructed for Taft. The regular 30 days' notice was not given for that convention, and a second convention was called to meet May 15. It is very doubtful if the proper notice was given for this convention. The same delegates and alternates were elected to the Chicago convention who were elected on March 26, but this time they were instructed for Roosevelt.

This case was decided by the national committee for the Taft delegates; and when the case was called for a hearing before the committee on credentials the Roosevelt contestants did not appear, and the case was decided against them by default.

TENTH TENNESSEE DISTRICT.

The national committee sustained the regularly elected Taft delegates from the Tenth congressional district of Tennessee. The contestants, who originally claimed they were for Taft, but subsequently announced themselves in favor of Roosevelt, failed to present their case before the committee on credentials, and it was decided against them by default.

TEXAS.

The issue as to the eight delegates at large from the State of Texas is not merely a political one but a moral one. It was not alone a question whether the votes should go to Taft or to Roosevelt. It was also a question whether the Republican Party in the State should be relieved from the death grip of the arbitrary and unscrupulous political machine which had dominated it for years and was destroying the party in the State rather than building it up. In 1896 the Republican Party cast 167,000 votes in the State; in 1900 the Republican vote was 121,000; in 1904 Roosevelt received 51,000 votes; in 1908 Taft got 65,000; and in 1910 the Republican candidate for governor, nominated at a small machine convention, received only 26,000 Republican votes. This result has come about at a time when the financial and business growth of the State, largely due to the influx of northern men and capital, has been marvelous, and when the chief port of Texas has become the second port in the United States.

The constant effort of the party organization seems to have been to reduce the Republican vote and confine it to officeholders and their relatives, so that there might be enough of the loaves and fishes to go around. As evidence of this the State chairman, Col. Cecil Lyon, who has held that office continuously since 1900 and has been a member of the Republican national committee since 1904, stated in a printed circular that every Federal officeholder in the State, except four or five, had been appointed on his recommendation. There are some 2,800 of such appointees, the larger number of whom were appointed during the administration of President Roosevelt and have not been replaced under the present administration. These officeholders furnish the main backing of the Lyon machine. Further evidence was furnished in the testimony which was submitted showing that Col. Lyon was deliberately attempting to exclude the colored Republican vote, in an effort to build up a white man's party in the State. A postal card, dated May 12, 1912, over his own signature, which had been circulated broadcast through the State, was in evidence, in which he stated that the time had come when the voters must decide whether the negro or the white man was to rule in the State of Texas.

The system was maintained in every State convention by the use of credentials from counties with an inconsiderable Republican vote, which were given as large a representation in the State convention as were counties casting the bulk of the Republican vote.

There is a primary election law in the State of Texas, under which parties casting over 100,000 votes are required to act. Its provisions are optional with parties casting less than 100,000 votes. Section 139 of the law provides that any political party desiring to elect delegates to a national convention shall hold a convention, and that said convention shall be composed of delegates duly elected by the voters in said political party in the several counties of the State at primary elections. Under the terms of this primary law the ratio of representation in Democratic conventions was first fixed at one delegate for each county, and no additional delegate unless the party cast in that county 500 votes and a major fraction thereof at the last general election. In other words, unless the party cast more than 750 votes in a county it would be entitled to only one delegate in the State convention. Another section of the same law, said to have been adopted later because of the growth of the Democratic vote, placed the representation at 300 votes and a major fraction thereof. There is nothing whatever in the law compelling the Republican party in the State of Texas to adopt either ratio of representation, but the Lyon machine has declared that it was bound by the Terrill law, although disregarding some of its important provisions.

There are in the State of Texas 249 counties, of which 4 have no county government. The remaining 245 counties were entitled to 1,008 delegates in the State convention with 248 votes. In the western part of the State there are 99 counties which cast at the last election a total of only 2,184 Republican votes. Nine of these counties did not cast a single Republican vote, and 32 other counties cast less than 10 Republican votes each. In these same 99 counties no conventions or primaries were held to elect delegates to the State convention, and in most of them there is no Republican organization whatsoever, and none of them, whether under the State election law or by rules of fairness, equity and decent party usuage, was entitled to a vote in this Republican convention. It appeared from the proofs submitted and affidavits offered in evidence, both from county clerks with whom returns of political organizations are required to be filed, and from others, that the organization in these sparsely settled counties is non-existent. It was the practice of the machine to send blank credentials to a friendly postmaster in each one of these counties having no party organization, and these credentials, after being signed by two Republicans, one as chairman and the other as secretary, but without the holding of a primary election or a county convention, would be sent, with a proxy from the delegate named, oftentimes to a person living 500 miles away but who was a member or friend of the State machine. It was by the use of credentials thus secured from the sparsely settled counties, having few or no Republican voters, that the Lyon machine has been able for years to control State conventions in Texas, and the present contest was the result of a determined effort on the part of the Republicans of the State to free themselves from an insufferable system.

The Terrill law requires that in each county the party chairman shall be elected and his name certified to the county clerk. In many of these 99 counties this was not done. Disregarding the delegates from these 99 counties not entitled to be represented because no bona fide conventions or primaries were held therein, would leave delegates from 149 counties entitled to 152 votes in the State convention. Of the counties entitled to representation in the convention Taft carried at least 89, with 90 votes.

When the State committee, which was overwhelmingly dominated by Col. Lyon, the Roosevelt manager of the State, met to make up the temporary roll, objection was made by Mr. John E. Elgin, a Taft committeeman, against the seating of delegates from these 99 counties, on grounds which were set out in detail. Pending this protest, a motion was made that the delegates from the remaining counties be placed upon the temporary roll. A motion to amend by having the roll of the remaining counties and the delegates representing them called, that the committee might know what counties and delegates were seated, was voted down. A subsequent demand for a list of the counties and delegates was denied, and the original motion was adopted.

The chairman had reported that 16 contests existed and these were referred to subcommittees, who unseated the Taft delegates, and their action was confirmed by the committee. Elgin's protest was then taken up and repeated, and upon motion the protest was dismissed, and the delegates from the 99 counties in question were placed upon the temporary roll. Mr. Elgin had offered as a substitute a motion to fix the basis of representation in the convention as one vote for each hundred votes cast for President Taft, but providing that each county in which conventions were held should have at least one vote. This motion was voted down.

No tickets were issued by the committee to contesting delegations, and thereupon the Taft delegates, representing more than a majority of the counties legally entitled to seats in the convention, marched in a body to Byers' Opera House, in the city of Fort Worth, and assembled in convention. An elaborate report was made to this convention of the proceedings of the State committee, in which the following language occurs:

> We are confronted with the condition that at least one-tenth of the entire Republican vote of this State was cast in two counties in the last presidential election; yet, under the apportionment made by the executive committee, these two counties are entitled to only three votes out of 250, and to be represented by 12 delegates out of a possible 1,000 as provided in the call of the State chairman. In addition to this there are 72 counties in this State in each of which were not cast to exceed 15 votes at the last election. These counties nevertheless are entitled to 288 delegates under the call of the State chairman. It is preposterous to claim that those counties in which were cast less than 15 votes should have the same voting power in this convention as the counties of Dallas, Harris, Bexar, and Travis, in which over 1,000 votes were cast at the presidential

election. To say that this is required by the Terrell election law of this State is a manifest perversion of the law, which was intended to secure honest elections and an honest expression of party sentiment. A claim based upon such a pretense is a palpable fraud upon the right of the voter to have his will honestly and fairly expressed. Such procedure would neither stimulate party zeal nor promote party growth. We not only can not submit to any such idea but utterly repudiate it. A convention organized upon such a plan is one in name only. It is not a Republican convention. It is a fraud upon Republican voters because their will can not be fairly expressed upon any substantial issue.

The convention was regularly organized by the adoption of a temporary and permanent organization. Committees on credentials, resolutions, and order of business were appointed and their reports accepted. A basis of representation was adopted identical with that proposed by Mr. Elgin to the State committee, and the convention was constituted in accordance therewith. It remained in session throughout the day, with a recess. At this convention the Taft delegates at large to Chicago were elected. All of them will support the Republican national ticket there named. Electors at large were chosen, and the records duly certified by the chairman and secretary of the convention and transmitted to the Republican national committee.

Throwing out the votes in those counties where there was no Republican organization and where no conventions were held to send delegates to the State convention, the Taft forces were clearly in control in the State convention. Had the delegates to that convention been elected on a basis of representation that would have given the Republican strongholds in the State fair proportional representation, the Taft majority in the State convention would have been much larger, for the reason that the large cities in the State were the centers of overwhelming pro-Taft and anti-Lyon sentiment.

The national committee decided that the convention held in Byers' Opera House represented the real Republican sentiment of the State of Texas; that it was fully justified in pursuing the course it did in order to overthrow a boss-ridden machine; that it endeavored to reflect and give effect to the Republican sentiment of the State, and the delegates elected by it were declared the duly elected delegates to the national convention. This decision was confirmed by the committee on credentials and by the national convention itself.

FIRST TEXAS DISTRICT.

The Taft delegates from the first congressional district of Texas were seated because it appeared from the records that the Roosevelt faction bolted when it found it could not control the convention. The first congressional district is composed of 11 counties, each county having 1 vote, except Cass County, which has 2, making 12 votes in the congressional convention. The executive committee, composed of 1 representative from each county, made up the temporary roll, and in the contests filed from two counties seated both delegates with one-half vote each. The convention elected the 2 Taft delegates, giving them 10¼ votes. Every county was represented in this vote. Three Federal officeholders, representing 1¾ votes, bolted the regular convention and held a rump meeting.

A stenographic report of the proceedings of the rump convention showed beyond question that the Roosevelt faction was in the minority. The brief filed by the Roosevelt contestants admitted that the majority of the executive committee, which made up the temporary roll call of the regular convention, favored Taft. The testimony showed that there were 10¼ votes in the congressional convention for Taft and 1¾ votes for Roosevelt.

The minutes of the convention, supported by affidavits from a majority of the duly elected delegates, showed conclusively that the regular convention was properly organized and held in accordance with the call of the National Committee and elected the two Taft delegates. *The national committee, by unanimous vote, decided the contest in favor of the Taft delegates.*

SECOND TEXAS DISTRICT.

The regularly elected delegates from the second congressional district of Texas were C. L. Rutt and George W. Eason. The convention which elected the Roosevelt claimants consisted of 6 men, who met in the mayor's office in the city of Nacogdoches, with the doors locked, during a part of the time that the regular convention was in session in the city hall. The mayor furnished an affidavit that he had occasion to go to his office for some papers; that he found the door locked, and upon being admitted found five or six men holding this so-called convention. The stenographer, whose records of the convention were submitted to the national committee, furnished an affidavit in which he said that these records were dictated to him by the chairman, who gave the names of the 6 men present, showing that they were from only 4 counties of the 14 in the district. All of these men had participated in the regular convention held in the city hall and had bolted after the convention had been organized.

The circumstances leading to this situation were as follows: The regularly elected chairman of the district committee resigned the chairmanship, and Col. Cecil Lyon appointed E. G. Christian, one of the committeemen, in his place. Mr. Christian, without attempting to call the committee together, claims in his brief to have called a district convention to be held at Lufkin on the 16th day of May, but he does not claim to have made any publication, as was required by the national committee call. The majority of the committee asked and received from the assistant attorney general of Texas a written opinion that the committee itself had the right to elect its own chairman.

The secretary thereupon and upon the request in writing of a majority of the committee, called the committee together for the purpose of electing a chairman and of calling a district convention. A majority of the members of the committee, including Mr. Christian, was present. C. L. Rutt was elected chairman and the district convention was called to meet at Nacogdoches on the 17th day of May, and due notice by publication of the call was made. In his brief Mr. Christian stated that by consent of the majority of the committee the place and date for the holding of his convention was changed to Nacogdoches and the 17th of May. The brief filed by Mr. Christian is apparently based on the idea that a convention was held pursuant to the terms of his call, but the position is entirely untenable, since he was not legally the chairman, and if he had been he would have had no authority to issue the call except by authority of the committee. He acquiesced in the choice of Rutt as chairman both at the committee meeting and subsequently at the convention.

Before the assembling of the convention the district committee met to prepare the temporary roll of the convention. Mr. Christian made no effort to preside, although he was present. Two counties were found not to have held conventions and one county to have no delegate present. Notice of a contest in Harrison County was received, but was not presented to the committee, and the roll was made up by seating the delegations that held regular credentials.

The district convention was called to order by C. L. Rutt; the official call and the report of the district committee were read, including in the latter the nomination of Geo. W. Eason for temporary chairman. Mr. Christian was also put in nomination, and upon roll call Mr. Eason was elected and presided over the convention. A committee on credentials was appointed and the convention took a recess until afternoon. The report of the committee on credentials was accepted upon roll call and the representatives of five counties withdrew from the hall. The representatives of four of these counties, as previously stated, held the alleged convention in the mayor's office.

The regular convention remained in session several hours; appointed the usual committees, which retired and made their reports, which were accepted; elected C. L. Rutt and Geo. W. Eason delegates to the national convention, and certified their election in due form to the national committee. Affidavits of the county judge, of the mayor of the city, and the city attorney, who attended the convention, but were not delegates, showed the complete regularity of the convention.

FOURTH TEXAS DISTRICT.

The fourth Texas congressional district consists of five counties, each having one vote in the district convention under the call of the congressional executive committee. Only one county, Rains, chose an uncontested delegation, and that delegation was for Taft. The other four counties, Collin, Grayson, Hunt, and Fannin, sent contesting delegations. On the day of the convention, and prior to its meeting, representatives from each of the four counties sending contesting delegations made an effort to appear before the congressional executive committee and present their claims for seats in the convention. The congressional committee arbitrarily refused to hear anybody. The contesting delegations then appeared before the credentials committee, but that committee refused to hear the evidence. The contestants were then permitted to make a statement on the floor of the convention as to their claims for seats in the convention, but no vote was permitted to be taken as to the merits of their claims. Having exhausted every effort to secure a hearing, the four contesting delegations, together with the only uncontested delegation of the convention, withdrew to another place and held a convention and elected Taft delegates to the Chicago convention, who were seated by the national committee and the committee on credentials.

The evidence produced relating to the four contested delegations in the congressional convention established clearly the following facts:

In Collin County the control of the county turned upon one precinct where the Taft men were in undisputed control and elected delegates who were refused seats. Had the properly elected delegates been seated, the Collin County convention would have selected an uncontested delegation to the congressional convention.

In Grayson County, in one precinct colored Republicans were kept out of the caucus by the aid of the State militia until the business of the caucus was concluded. From another precinct delegates were seated who had been chosen by a rump meeting, and the Taft delegates, duly chosen, were refused admission. Had these negro Republicans not been disfranchised and had the duly elected delegates from the other precinct been seated, Grayson would have sent a Taft delegation to the congressional convention.

Similar irregular and illegal practices prevented the selection of a Taft delegation in Hunt County. The regularly elected delegates in Fannin County were also for Taft, while the Roosevelt delegates were irregularly selected in a mass convention.

The congressional convention which elected the Taft delegates was composed of more than a majority, and, indeed, of practically all the regularly elected elegates.

FIFTH TEXAS DISTRICT.

The fifth congressional district of Texas is made up of Dallas, Ellis, Hill, Bosque, and Rockwall Counties. Two district conventions were held at the same time and place in the same hall, each claiming to be the regular convention. Dallas County cast more Republican votes than all the other counties of the district put together. The call for the congressional convention allowed each county to send not to exceed four delegates, but made no reference to the basis of representation of the respective counties composing the district. There was a contest from Dallas County, but the Taft delegates were seated. The testimony showed that the sentiment among voters in that county was overwhelmingly in favor of Taft. Taft delegates were seated on the temporary roll from two counties, and Roosevelt delegates from three counties, and the representation in the convention was fixed at one vote for each county without regard to the number of delegates in the convention or the number of Republican votes cast in such county. When the convention assembled a minority report of the district committee was presented, protesting against the seating of the Roosevelt delegates from Hill County and protesting against the ratio of representation adopted, which deprived Dallas County of its rightful voting strength in the convention. The chairman of the convention objected to the presentation of this minority report. Failing in this he abandoned the platform and left the hall.

Being left without officers, the convention thereupon elected a new chairman and a new secretary, appointed a committee on credentials which recommended the seating of the Taft delegates from Hill county and the adoption of the minority report of the district committee as to the basis of the representation in the convention. Both these recommendations were adopted, and Taft delegates to the national convention were thereupon elected by a vote of eight to three. The Roosevelt men thereafter retired to the south end of the hall where they organized a meeting at which it was claimed the Roosevelt delegates to the national convention were elected. The Editor of the Dallas Express, W. E. King, and a resident of Dallas for 20 years, furnished an affidavit in which he testified that he had attended many conventions and never before had he seen a chairman refuse to allow a minority report to be read, and when his order was not obeyed he left the platform and retired to the south end of the hall where he and a few others held a meeting, but that the Taft convention was more numerously attended than the Roosevelt convention. He says it has been customary in all congressional conventions to take the basis of representation from the last presidential vote in the respective counties. The Republican vote for the district for 1908 was as follows: Dallas County, 2,068; Ellis, 594; Hill, 414; Bosque, 266; Rockwall, 38. Under the election law of Texas the Democratic party, because it casts over 100,000 votes, is required to nominate each candidate by a primary, while the Republican party is not so required, but may nominate by convention. The basis of representation in the Democratic convention is one to each 300 votes cast, but that rule does not apply to Republican conventions.

The national committee and the committee on credentials and the convention itself sustained the title of the Taft delegates to their seats.

SEVENTH TEXAS DISTRICT.

The Taft delegates from the seventh congressional district, J. H. Hawley and H. L. Price, were duly elected by the regularly constituted convention of that district. The Roosevelt contestants were elected at a convention held without authority. The facts in regard to this contest, as presented to the national committee, were as follows:

The seventh congressional district of Texas is composed of the following counties: Anderson, Chambers, Galveston, Houston, Liberty, Polk, San Jacinto, and Trinity. The counties of Polk, San Jacinto, and Trinity were without proper party organization. In Texas county chairmen must be elected by the voters in each party. No such election was held in any of these three counties.

In two of them Col. Lyon assumed to appoint chairmen, which he had no right to do. Lyon himself had classed these three counties as unorganized and without party organization.

The regular convention met in Galveston on April 9, 1912, after proper publication of the call as required by the regulations of the national committee. The executive committee met prior to the meeting of the convention to make up the temporary roll of delegates. Certain persons claiming to represent the three unorganized counties appeared before the executive committee and asked to have their names placed upon the temporary roll. Inasmuch as none of these three counties were properly organized according to the laws of Texas, and inasmuch as these representatives had no credentials showing that they were entitled to represent the said counties, it was decided by the executive committee not to place them upon the temporary roll. When this action was taken by the executive committee Mr. Clinton, a delegate from Houston County, and the alleged representative from the three unorganized counties withdrew from the meeting and proceeded to organize another convention, sending the contesting delegation to the national convention.

When the convention met, after the election of a temporary chairman, the usual committees were appointed. A committee on credentials was regularly selected according to the party law of Texas, and that committee proceeded to hear all contests and to make up the permanent roll of the convention. The parties claiming to represent the aforesaid three unorganized counties did not present their claims to this committee, nor did they appear in the convention to present their right to represent their respective counties in said convention, although repeatedly invited to do so.

The report of the credentials committee was submitted to the convention and adopted, and that convention elected J. H. Hawley and H. L. Price as delegates to the national convention.

EIGHTH TEXAS DISTRICT.

In the eighth Texas congressional convention a split occurred over the majority and minority reports of the executive committee as to the temporary roll. The Roosevelt followers controlled the executive committee but did not have a majority in the convention which adopted the minority report and gave Taft 5½ votes and Roosevelt 2½ votes. The Roosevelt followers thereupon bolted. In a county not represented, due notice was not given of the county convention and no delegates were therefore legally selected in that county. The testimony showed that a majority of the duly elected delegates participated in the convention which elected Taft delegates to the national convention and Charles A. Warnken and Spencer Graves were duly seated as such delegates.

NINTH TEXAS DISTRICT.

The Taft delegates from the ninth Texas congressional district were C. M. Hughes and M. M. Rogers. The district committee met April 13 on the call of J. H. Speaker, a recognized member of the committee. He took this step because the chairman of the committee refused to convene the committee for the purpose of issuing a call for a district convention. A letter was presented to the national committee signed by the chairman in which he said that the attorney general had ruled that all delegates from Texas to the national convention must be elected in the State convention to be held for that purpose in Fort Worth May 28. He declared that as he was directed by his superior, the State chairman, Col. Lyon, he had concluded not to hold a district convention. This was in accordance with the original idea of the State chairman, that all district delegates from Texas must be elected at the State convention. The chairman also said in the same letter that it was not necessary to give 30 days' notice of a district convention, because the Texas election law did not so specify. In order that 30 days' notice might be given of the district convention and that the delegates should be elected 30 days before the date of the meeting of the national convention as required by the call of the national committee, J. H. Speaker, a member of the district committee, called the committee to meet April 13; seven members attended the meeting, and the district convention was called to meet on May 15 in Victoria. Due notice was given of this convention. Eleven counties out of 15 counties responded to the call and participated in this convention. Three counties were not represented and in one of these there was no election.

After this convention had been called the chairman of the district committee changed his mind about not calling a district convention, and called a meeting of the congressional committee for April 17, which was attended by seven members of the executive committee. This committee meeting called a congressional convention to be held on the 18th of May in the town of Yoakum. The evidence before the committee was that the first publication of this meeting was on the 21st of April, though an item published in a newspaper at Cuero, Dewitt County, Tex., on April 18, stated that a convention had been called for May 18. As stated above, no publication of the call was made until April 21. There was ample evidence to show that the Taft convention was duly and regularly convened, while the Roosevelt convention was not. The national committee and the committee on credentials therefore seated the Taft delegates.

TENTH TEXAS DISTRICT.

The decision in the contest in the tenth district turned largely upon the good faith with which two members of the district committee voted in the seating of delegates and upon the good faith with which one of them used the proxy intrusted to him. The district consists of nine counties. The chairmen of the county committees are ex-officio members of the district committee. H. M. Moore, the district chairman, on the 5th of April issued a call for the meeting of the committee on the 10th day of April to prepare and issue a call for the district convention. On April 10 eight counties were represented either in the person of members or by proxy, and called the convention for the district to be held in the city of Austin on May 11, 1912. The committee unanimously indorsed W. H. Taft for renomination for President. The counties of Bastrop, Lee, Travis, Washington, and Williamson were strongly in favor of the renomination of President Taft, some of them giving instructions for him and others electing delegates who had declared their preference for him. William Anderson, under date of February 28, March 15, and April 3, had written letters strongly indorsing President Taft, in one of them saying "Bastrop County is coming to the convention O. K." He was elected a delegate from that county and was also a member of the committee from that county. M. R. Hoxie and D. H. Kennerly were elected delegates from Lee County. Mr. Hoxie was a strong Taft man and was given every assurance that Mr. Kennerly was the same. Relying upon this confidence he gave Mr. Kennerly his proxy both as chairman and delegate from Lee County, writing under date of May 11: "I have every confidence in Mr. Kennerly, and he will do all that can be done in your interest." This confidence was shared in by other members of the committee as the result of telephone talks with Mr. Kennerly's father, who said that his son would support delegates to the national convention at Chicago favorable to the renomination of Taft for President.

The district committee assembled on the 11th day of May in the city of Austin to prepare the roll and arrange for the temporary organization of the convention which was to meet at 1 o'clock. Lee, Travis, and Washington Counties were refused seats in the temporary organization, and upon the question of the irregularity of the election of delegates from Hays County the vote stood 4 in the affirmative and 4 in the negative, the committeeman for Hays County being allowed to vote. The chairman cast the deciding vote against the county. Mr. Anderson, representing Bastrop County, voted in the negative, but shortly afterwards moved that the vote be reconsidered, and upon reconsideration changed the vote of Bastrop County, so that the result was 5 for and 3 against the seating of delegates from Hays County, the Hays County representative again voting to seat the county. The circumstances brought to the attention of the national committee were of such a character as to indicate that Anderson's motion to reconsider and change the vote were due to other considerations than those affecting the merits of the case. He subsequently made an affidavit which was filed with the national committee in which he said that he acted correctly in voting against Hays County and was guilty of "error" in the change which he made.

D. H. Kennerly, who held the proxy for Mr. Hoxie, cast the vote of Lee County in favor of seating the Hays County delegates. Both Anderson and Kennerly voted for a Roosevelt delegate for temporary chairman of the convention. The committee adjourned and the convention was immediately called to order by the district chairman, Mr. Moore, who announced the violation of instructions above recited. The Roosevelt candidate for temporary chairman was elected by the convention so organized and the chairman appointed a committee of five on credentials. Two of these were members from Hays County, which was the county in contest, and one was William Anderson, of Bastrop County. The other two members were Roosevelt men. Upon this action the Taft delegates left the hall and immediately, and in the same building, organized another convention, which consisted of delegates from six counties. Proceedings were regularly held; a permanent organization effected; the report of the committee on resolutions adopted, and delegates pledged to President Taft were elected. The undisputed evidence indicated that a flagrant attempt had been made to deprive Taft of this district, to which he was justly entitled. The national committee sustained the title of the Taft delegates and alternates by a practically unanimous vote, no roll call being asked for.

FOURTEENTH TEXAS DISTRICT.

The contest from the fourteenth Texas congressional district depends upon the control of the executive committee of the district, of which J. M. Oppenheimer, one of the Taft delegates to the national convention, was and is chairman. There are 15 counties in the district. When the executive committee met at San Antonio, on the call of the chairman, to make up the temporary roll of the convention, there were 10 members of the committee present whose right to act was undisputed, of whom 6 were for Taft and 4 for Roosevelt. There were 4 other Roosevelt men present whose right to vote was disputed and who were clearly not entitled to represent their county at that meeting. One of them held the proxy of the committeeman from Kendall County who was dead. and the proxies from three other counties were held, two by postmasters and one by an assistant postmaster, while section 60 of the election law of the State of Texas expressly provides that no one who holds an office of profit or trust under the United States shall act as member of an executive committee either for the State or for any district or county. When the committee was in session these four men, one with the proxy from a dead man and three postmasters who were disqualified by the law of Texas from acting in such capacity, attempted to take part in the proceedings. The chairman properly refused to permit them to act with the committee; and the Taft members, having a clear majority, proceeded to make up the temporary roll of the convention as provided by law.

There was a contest over the delegation from Baxter County, which contains the city of San Antonio, the largest city in the State. Full consideration was given to this contest, but the testimony was overwhelming that the Taft sentiment in that county was preponderating, and making all due allowance for the Roosevelt claims, Taft carried the county by a vote of from four or five to one. When the executive committee had made up the temporary roll of the convention it fixed the basis of representation in the convention, as it had a right to do under the law, and placed it at one vote for each 50 votes cast for the Republican candidate at the last presidential election. On this basis the total vote in the district convention was 67, of which the number instructed or voting for Taft was 37½; the number voting or instructed for Roosevelt 28½; not voting 1.

On this showing it was plain that the preponderance of sentiment among Republicans in this congressional district favored Taft and that a majority of the duly elected delegates in the congressional convention voted for Taft delegates to the national convention. *The national committee by unanimous vote seated the Taft delegates.*

VIRGINIA.

Contests were filed against the Taft delegates from Virginia at large and from every congressional district except the seventh and ninth. All of these contesting delegations were worked up weeks after the regular conventions had been held. The ground on which the contests were based was that the colored Republicans of the State had been discriminated against; that they were refused permission to take part in the county and district conventions; and that the white Republicans of the State were engaged in a conspiracy to deprive the colored Republicans of all voice in political matters. These charges were found absolutely groundless. The Virginia cases were all consolidated, and the Taft delegates were sustained by the national committee with only one dissenting vote. The cases were appealed to the committee on credentials, but only one case was presented to that committee, and that was by a colored Republican, J. R. Wilson, of Danville, in the fifth congressional district. He claimed the colored Republicans of that district had been discriminated against, but the only evidence he presented was a handbill calling on white Republicans to attend a county convention in that county. It appeared that this handbill was 4 years old. The regularly elected delegates from the fifth congressional district, who were uninstructed and who had been voting in the convention with the Roosevelt supporters, were placed on the permanent roll.

WASHINGTON.

Two full delegations, with 14 votes each, claimed to be the regularly elected delegates for the State of Washington. In that State county executive committees have full authority under the law to appoint all delegates to district and State conventions. In different counties of the State different methods were employed of selecting delegates to the 1912 State convention. As an instance, in the counties of Ferry, Stevens, and Walla Walla delegates to the State convention were picked by the county central committee, and in each of these counties a Roosevelt delegation was selected and no question of the right of these delegates to sit in the State convention was ever raised. The first action taken in any county after the call was issued was the selection of a Roosevelt delegation to the State convention from Ferry County by a Roosevelt county committee. In Asotin and King Counties a delegation was likewise selected by the county central committee, and in those instances a Taft delegation was selected. In Franklin County a delegation was elected by the county committee and was instructed for Senator La Follette. In many of the other counties some character of a primary election was held. For instance, in Pierce County and Spokane County a primary election was held, resulting in the sending of delegations to the State convention instructed for Roosevelt. In Whatcom and Skagit Counties, after a primary election was held, delegations were sent instructed for Taft.

There is a primary election law in the State applicable to cities which is optional and not mandatory, the county committee having the authority to decide in which way the delegates shall be selected. If a primary election is ordered, the delegates must be selected strictly in accordance with the provisions of the primary law. Notices of contest were filed with the Republican State committee in practically every county which was carried for Taft, while the Taft men filed only one contest. Before the State convention met the Roosevelt supporters demanded that the decision on all contested seats should be submitted to the uncontested delegates, who constituted a minority of the convention. In view of this situation, which was unprecedented in the State, the Republican State committee at a meeting held the day before the time fixed for the State convention adopted a set of rules for the hearing of contests and directed that all credentials be filed with the State committee, which should make up a temporary roll, following absolutely in this respect the precedent and practice laid down by the national committee. The meeting of the State committee to pass upon the credentials was largely attended, and every opportunity was given all contestants to present their cases. The committee met in the city council chamber at Aberdeen to hear the contests, and when the committee was in session the chamber was packed with men who endeavored in every possible way to overawe and intimidate the committee and prevent a fair determination of the contests, but the committee was undisturbed by this riotous demonstration, and the contests were all decided by a vote of approximately three to one. The contest from King County was presented fully by both sides, and the Taft delegates were placed upon the temporary roll.

KING COUNTY.

The control of the State convention depended upon the delegates from King County, which includes the city of Seattle. County committees in Washington are composed of precinct and township committeemen who are elected by the voters in September primaries held in even numbered years. At the time of the last general election held in Washington the city of Seattle contained about 250 voting precincts, and each precinct elected its member of the county committee. A majority of this committee of 250 was composed of Taft men. This county committee appointed a central committee and gave it full power to act in matters coming within the jurisdiction of a county committee. It was the central committee composed of 24 members of the county committee which selected the delegation from King County to the State convention, as already stated. The county committee approved this action. Thereafter, without legal authority, an attempt was made to hold a primary to select such delegation to the State convention under the following circumstances: Some time before these events the proper municipal authority of Seattle redistricted the city so as to create 131 additional election precints. When the 250 regularly constituted committeemen of Kings County assembled in April, 1912, there were present 131 strangers who claimed to be members by virtue of appointment by the Roosevelt county chairman. There had been no election of county committeemen since the redistricting of the city, but the county chairman assumed the authority of increasing the membership by 131.

It was claimed that the county committee had given authority to its chairman to fill any vacancies that might occur in the committee. It appeared that three such vacancies had been actually filled by the chairman. Even if the chairman had the right to fill vacancies he clearly had been given no authority, and had no right to name members of the county committee where the appointments were not to fill vacancies, but were attempts to fill places created in the new apportionment. The central committee had unanimously decided in a previous meeting presided over by this very county chairman that such places could only be filled at next primary election, to be held September, 1912.

The Roosevelt supporters claimed that the county committee at this April meeting voted to hold a county primary for the election of delegates to the State convention, and also to revoke the authority which had been given to the managing committee. This meeting nearly resulted in a riot and so much confusion prevailed while it was in session that it was impossible for anyone to know what business was transacted. Affidavits were presented to the national committee from 137 members of the county committee, or 12 more than a majority, who were present in person or by proxy, to the effect that they did not vote for the resolution under which the alleged primary was held in King County; that had they been given an opportunity they would have voted against it; that such opportunity was denied them; and that they approved of the action of the central committee of the county committee in appointing the Taft delegates to the State convention. The Roosevelt supporters proceeded to hold their primary election in King County. Taft Republicans were exhorted not to participate and very few of them did so. In many precincts of the city not a single Taft vote was cast, and in 30 precincts no Republican votes were cast.

The primary election law of Washington requires that three reputable citizens, two to act as judges and one as clerk, for each primary election shall be selected by a caucus of qualified voters in each precinct at least one day previous to such primary election, and the election of judges and clerks shall be certified to the managing committee by the officers of such caucus. At the alleged primary held in the city of Seattle referred to above the judges and clerks were not elected as required by the primary election law, but were appointed by the Roosevelt manager. The primary election law also provides that after counting the votes, proclaiming the result, and signing the returns the judges shall cause the tally lists and ballots to be filed with the clerk of the county wherein such election is held, which tally lists and ballots shall be kept by them as a part of the public records until after the adjournment of the convention for which such primary election was held. The judges did not, as this law provided, cause the tally lists and ballots to be filed with the county clerk, but they simply filed the returns with the Roosevelt committee. Representatives of the daily papers in Seattle who kept track of the returns as they were made to the Roosevelt committee on the night of the primary reported about 3,000 votes for Roosevelt.

The Taft people were refused access to these returns and never had an opportunity to see them until they were presented at the hearing of the case before the national committee where it was claimed that 6,900 votes had been cast for Roosevelt and 500 for Taft. The total Republican vote in the city of Seattle is estimated at from 70,000 to 75,000, not over 10 per cent. of which was cast at the Roosevelt primary held without legal sanction, even admitting the total number of votes to have been cast as claimed. The Republican State committee found that the much advertised primary election held in the city of Seattle was irregular and illegal, and that there was nothing else to do but seat the Taft delegates. Learning that the Roosevelt followers were threatening to storm the convention and take forcible possession of the hall, tickets were prepared and issued both for delegates and visitors. Tickets were furnished to all county delegates placed upon the temporary roll. Guards were placed at the doors of the hall so that unauthorized persons might not enter. When the Roosevelt forces found that they could not force entrance to the convention hall and that delegates not on the temporary roll could not secure admission, they bolted and held a separate convention. In fact, it was announced on the morning of the day the State convention was to be held that the Roosevelt following had hired a hall for that purpose. The regular convention proceeded with its business in an orderly way, with a majority of the duly elected delegates in attendance. The report of the committee on credentials which was adopted seated all the delegates placed on the temporary roll by the State committee, except the 8 delegates from Clallam County and 61 from Pierce County. The contesting delegation from King County refused to submit its case to the convention.

DISTRICT DELEGATES.

The State convention elected 8 delegates at large. The three congressional districts each elected 2 district delegates. The regular session of the State convention was recessed to permit the three district conventions to meet and to elect district delegates. All 14 delegates lawfully elected from the State of Washington favored the renomination of Taft. All the proceedings of these conventions were in strict accordance with party law and custom.

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTIONS RULED SAME WAY.

The very same question from King County came up before the Democratic State convention, and that body seated the Clark delegation which had been appointed by the county committee and refused to seat the Wilson delegates who had been named at an irregular primary held at the same time and in the same way as the Roosevelt delegates to the State convention had been named. The Washington State case was carried to the Democratic national convention at Baltimore, where the Clark delegates elected in exactly the same manner as the Taft delegates were elected were seated, instead of the Wilson delegates elected in the same way the Roosevelt delegates were elected.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

A contest was filed with the national committee contesting the seats of Aaron Bradshaw and William Calvin Chase, the duly elected Taft delegates. The election of delegates from the District of Columbia was held under the direction and supervision of an election board named in the call of the national committee for the national convention. The election was held strictly in accordance with the terms of the call; a board of judges was appointed for each election precinct, who received, counted, announced, and returned the ballots to a returning board. This returning board made its report to the election board named by the national committee. The result of the election was 2,966 votes cast for Bradshaw, 2,964 cast for Chase, and 1,848 votes and 1,846 votes cast, respectively, for Sidney Bieber and Dr. James R. Wilder, the Roosevelt candidates.

The notice of contest filed by Mr. Bieber and Dr. Wilder charged among other things that no official notice was published in any newspaper showing the hour and place where ballots would be received and counted; that the only notice given was an unofficial notice published less than 24 hours before the time of the primary; that elections were held in 22 districts instead of 21, contrary to the provisions of the printed call; that the election board failed to perform its duty; that many incapable judges of election were appointed; that in many polling places no record was kept of the votes cast; that many of these judges stuffed the ballot boxes in their charge and permitted other persons to do the same; that a number of the judges were so much under the influence of liquor that they could not perform their duties; that six polling places were arbitrarily changed at the last moment; that one of the members of the election board was refused the exercise of his right as a member of the election board to inspect the registration books kept at the various polling places; that one of the ballot boxes was corruptly withheld until all the ballots from the other polling precincts had been counted; that tickets were switched and returns were falsified, and that an honest count and a fair return would have shown the election of the Roosevelt delegates.

Absolutely no evidence was presented to the national committee to support any of these charges, while evidence was presented showing the election of Bradshaw and Chase was in all respects in strict accordance with the terms of the call. Governor Hadley, in his motion to substitute, included the District of Columbia as one of the districts where delegates for Roosevelt had been actually elected. *In view of the fact that no evidence was presented to substantiate the Roosevelt charges of fraud and irregularity, and in view of the further fact that the case was not appealed by the contestants to the committee on credentials, there was nothing for that committee and the convention to do but to seat the Taft delegates. Mr. Bieber's motion to seat himself failed to receive the support of a single Roosevelt member of the national committee.*

We hereby certify that the above and foregoing document, prepared under our direction, is a correct and faithful statement of the contests for seats in the Republican national convention of 1912, showing the character of said contests and the disposition of them by the national committee and the committee on credentials of the Republican national convention and by the convention itself.

VICTOR ROSEWATER,
Chairman Republican National Committee.

THOMAS H. DEVINE,
Chairman Committee on Credentials.

11

THE RECALL

of

Elected Public Officials Including Judges.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY 158

BY

HENRY C. MAINE

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Form 504

THE RECALL OF ELECTED PUBLIC OFFICIALS INCLUDING JUDGES.

It would seem that in the scheme for practical restoration of the political system which prevailed in Athens in the time of Demosthenes, described in David Hume's tenth essay, that the recall is intended as a corrective of the deprivation of initiative involved in the so-called "direct primary." Under the direct primary, there can be no practical initiative by voters or groups of voters, because their organized groups or caucus units, providing for representation in choosing candidates, are destroyed by law. But after candidates are named by those assuming to dictate and elected by the voters, an individual can, of his own motion, move for a recall by personal agitation through groups he may organize. As a corrective of the direct primary's deprivations, the recall is inadequate and absurd. For, if the voters were not robbed in the beginning of that initiative which permits free choice, the occasions for recall and the disposition to recall elected officials would be rare.

So the recall is an extra-constitutional way of remedying a departure from the representative system at the basis of our government.

For, under the operation of our constitutional system, impeachment is sufficient, besides assuring to public officials, as well as to other citizens, those fundamental rights guaranteed by the federal and state constitutions.

Every official, like every other citizen, should have the right to trial by a jury of his peers or by a tribunal in which the rules of evidence prevail as in impeachment.

The recall denies these guaranteed rights. Under the recall, a public official must be tried by public clamor, and voted in or out of office, without the defense permitted and required in courts of justice.

Gift
N. Y.

The Gatling gun system of dealing with officials, involved in the recall, was best exemplified under the Athenian Commonwealth, when the ablest public men were reduced to poverty by confiscation of property, or sent into exile or executed by votes of the public assembly. Demosthenes was tried in this way; but he was able to defend himself and did so in the Oration on the Crown. Others, not orators and unable or unwilling to hire orators, were voted into exile or to drink hemlock.

The recall, if accepted, must be considered a repeal of constitutional guaranties. If it be accepted, it should apply to all public officials, including judges. The judiciary, as a department of government, is deserving of no more consideration than any other department.

If the constitutional guaranties are to be destroyed, let all of them go together.

What is needed now is knowledge and thorough appreciation of our constitutional system on the part of lawyers who are chiefly instrumental in law-making.

All of the isms now advocated were tried out in the Athenian and Roman republics and rejected by the classical scholars who drew our constitutions.

There was never any real liberty until Magna Charta; and there is some disposition today to trade away the great principles of that immortal document.

THE
DIRECT PRIMARY

ROBS THE INDIVIDUAL VOTER
of
INITIATIVE AND INFLUENCE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY 158

BY

HENRY C. MAINE

ROCHESTER, N. Y.

Form 503

THE DIRECT PRIMARY ROBS THE INDIVIDUAL VOTER OF INITIATIVE AND INFLUENCE IN PUBLIC AFFAIRS.

The direct primary, so-called, would, if enacted, practically deprive the individual voter of the rights and privileges and initiative he now enjoys in the State of New York under the caucus and convention or representative system. The representative system alone rendered democracy feasible as a system of government. The 10,000 members of the Athenian Commonwealth could go out to the field in Athens, hear their orators and vote directly for public officers or public measures. But this system always left the initiative with the orators and the politicians or so-called statesmen.

When it was needful for several millions of our citizens to organize for the carrying out of republican government, the far-seeing determined that the representative system alone could serve the purpose. For it was physically impossible for the masses to assemble in one place and vote. So comparatively small units of population were empowered to make their will known by choosing representatives to express that will in larger bodies. Under this system, individual initiative was possible in proposing men for public office or measures for enactment by legislative bodies.

Under this system, democracy has flourished and the individual has not been dwarfed to that insignificance which awaits him if he can have no voice in the town meeting or caucus, but is confined to voting in the air, on primary day, for his personal choice, or naming on his ballot the candidate of his party committee or other body assuming to manage party affairs at first hand from above, without the knowledge or assent of the voting masses. The selection of candidates, instead of going up by representation of the masses by chosen men to speak in convention, comes down from self-constituted choosers to the masses who are expected merely to confirm the will of those above them. In other words, representative government is turned bottom upward, and the individual voter is actually robbed of all the initiative he formerly enjoyed in the town or district meeting or caucus.

Gift
N. Y. Repub. State

The independent candidate cannot be legally barred under any form or system of the direct primary; and he has the more reason for announcing himself because the nominations no longer proceed from the people acting in small district or town units through representative delegates, but come from leaders who assume all of the powers once exercised by the representatives chosen in caucus.

It has been clearly demonstrated that party organization is needful for the success of a republican form of government. A party can announce principles of action, name candidates and have all questions submitted to open discussion. But practical party organization must cease when the initiative ceases to come from the small units of the voting population also organized and represented in the higher counsels of the party.

The direct primary means, if it means anything, that the individual voter shall name his individual candidate for Governor, casting his direct ballot at state expense without the interference of the caucus or the party leader, who by some has been called a "boss" and condemned, as though anything could be accomplished without leadership. If the voters of the parties in New York today were called upon to express themselves with that freedom, which, so far, is the chief claim for the direct primary, a thousand candidates for Governor might be named and the state would have wasted the money expended for the primary. Without some interference or direction from caucus or convention or leaders, this voting might be continued indefinitely without result. So in the large sense the free initiative of the direct primary is an absurdity which, tried to its ultimate, means anarchy.

Government is a mode of association, but if the mode is so ponderous and practically unworkable as the direct primary, government must degenerate finally to control by a few strong men who can compel the obedience of the masses robbed of their power of initiative in those small caucus units which have proved to be efficient for more than a hundred years.

"Shall the people rule?" is one of those misleading inquiries intended to sustain the notion of the direct primary. For the direct primary cannot be properly dignified with the name of system or plan; for in its essentials the direct primary is unworkable. And, as a matter of fact, there is no direct primary; but rather dictation from above to voters who have been robbed of the only feasible initiative, the caucus and representation by duly chosen delegates.

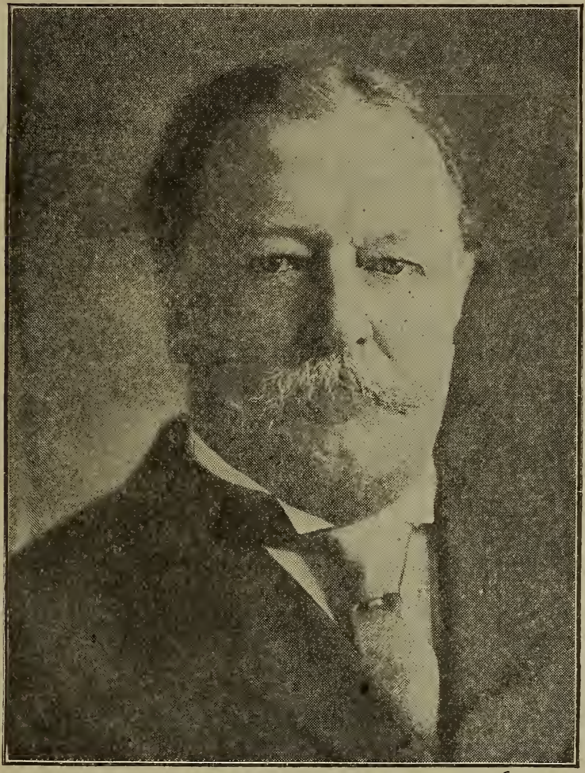
13

QUESTIONS FOR WOMEN

Republican National Committee

Department of Woman's Work

MISS HELEN VARICK BOSWELL, Chairman
MISS MARY WOOD, Secretary



FOR PRESIDENT

WILLIAM H. TAFT

Questions for the Woman in the Home

DO YOU KNOW that your sister women work in England for fashionable tailors *eighty-four hours weekly* for *six cents per hour?* That women stand all day at linen looms in Ireland on wet floors, in bare feet, with *clothing drenched with water* poured on the fabric they are weaving, for *$2.50 per week?*

DO YOU KNOW that the *advance* in prices is *world-wide* and that the *tariff* really is *not responsible* for the *high cost of living?*

DO YOU KNOW that our population has increased over twenty per cent the last ten years, but our food supply, raised upon our farms, has not relatively increased?

DO YOU KNOW that meat, furniture, cotton clothing, shoes, corn meal, newspapers and other *necessaries* are *cheaper here* than in England under Free Trade?

DO YOU KNOW that under President Taft's Administration a White Slave Law has been enacted which will wipe out the *infamous traffic* in the bodies and souls of women?

Questions for the Woman Who Votes

DO YOU KNOW that the *franchise* has been granted to women exclusively in *Republican States* by a majority *Republican* vote?

DO YOU KNOW that under the Administration of President Taft a deficit of $50,000,000 was in two years' time changed to a surplus of $47,000,000?

DO YOU KNOW that a Corporation Tax Law yielding $30,000,000 annually has been passed, and that an Income Tax amendment to the Constitution has been submitted to the States?

DO YOU KNOW that an Act was passed providing for publicity of campaign contributions, and prohibiting corporations from making contributions to elections?

DO YOU KNOW that *Postal Banks* have been established, *forty-three anti-trust* prosecutions conducted, a *Bureau of Mines* has been created, the Post Office has been placed upon a self-sustaining basis, serious complications with Russia over the passport treaty avoided and *arbitration treaties* negotiated with Foreign Powers *under President Taft's Administration?*

sher
OCT 4 1912

Questions for the Wage-Earning Woman

DO YOU KNOW that the wage-earning women *in this country* get from *two to ten per cent* greater wages under *Republican Administration* than women in the same industries *abroad?*

DO YOU KNOW that the States which have placed a *limit* upon the number of *hours per day or week* that women may be employed, which have *prohibited night work for women,* required employers to *furnish seats in shops,* and secure ventilation and sanitary conditions in factories and stores are mostly *Republican States?*

DO YOU KNOW that tens of thousands of *women and girls* are compelled to do exhausting work in *mail shops, coal yards, brick yards* and *coal mines* in *England,* the country of *Free Trade?*

DO YOU KNOW that the election of a Democratic President means the *closing of factories* and *workshops* and that Women Workers are always the *first to lose their jobs,* and that during the last Democratic Administration *business was paralyzed, women* thrown out of employment and thousands of women and children *suffered* for food, shelter and clothing?

DO YOU KNOW the election of William Howard Taft will *increase our industries, raise your wages,* and guarantee *steady employment* under *improved conditions?*

Questions for the Farmer's Wife

DO YOU KNOW that the United States farmers have more comfortable homes, better furniture, and clothes, and food than the farmers of any country in the world? That their families have more labor-saving devices and comforts and luxuries than the families of any other nation?

DO YOU KNOW that the tariff for revenue would *increase* the price of *sugar* by ruining the business of the cane and beet sugar States, because they could not compete with the *cost of production* in other countries?

DO YOU KNOW that the *Free Rural Delivery* service which develops good roads and brings your magazines and newspapers and letters and postage stamps to your door, owes its existence to the *Republican Party,* and that the *Parcels Post* which will *increase your profits* and decrease your cost of transportation is also a *Republican measure?*

DO YOU KNOW that *American labor* is the *best paid* of any in the world, and that for this reason the worker in the factory and shop *is able to pay good prices* for butter and eggs and vegetables?

DO YOU KNOW that the United States enjoys a prosperity unequalled in any other country in the world, because the American manufacturer buys the products of the American farmer, and the American farmer buys the products of the American manufacturer?

DO YOU KNOW that the *development of manufacturing plants* increases the value of your acres by *building railroads and trolley lines* to facilitate transportation, thus bringing the *market to your door?*

Questions for the Wage-Earner's Wife

DO YOU KNOW that under a Republican Administration the workman in America receives *one hundred and thirty per cent better wages* than the workman in England, the country of Free Trade?

DO YOU KNOW that under a Republican Administration the workman in America with 130 per cent better wages expends for food and rent only *about fifty-two per cent more* than the workman in England, the country of Free Trade?

DO YOU KNOW that under a Republican Administration many workmen in America, because of *higher wages,* regardless of the increased cost of living, *own their own homes, wear better clothes, eat more meat* and *good food* than the workman in England, the country of Free Trade?

DO YOU KNOW that under a Republican Administration the workers in America have *laid aside* for a rainy day *four billions of dollars in the Savings Bank* of this country?

DO YOU KNOW that under the last Democratic Administration banks suspended, factories and mills *closed,* industries *declined,* and *three millions of men* were *thrown out* of employment?

DO YOU WANT a *change* of policies in the government of this country which will *destroy industry, bring starvation wages, take away* the chance of labor from your husband, and send *your hungry children* to the Soup House for *charity?*

A vote for Roosevelt is a vote for Wilson.

Democratic Free Trade under Professor Wilson will bring these *calamaties upon the country.*

A vote for Taft and Republican policies will prevent them.

14

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

AND

THE AFRO-AMERICAN

A Book of Facts and Figures

BY

CYRUS FIELD ADAMS

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS THE SHIP; ALL ELSE IS THE SEA."
—FREDERICK DOUGLASS.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL WASHINGTON 5

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1912

FOREWORD.

The purpose of this little book is to present in concise and portable form a few facts and figures concerning the Afro-American and his relation to the two great political parties of the country.

The word "two" is used advisedly, for the present one-man party has no past and will have no future. With his elimination in November it will disappear.

It is, of course impossible to tell the whole story in a mere pamphlet, but enough is given to show that the Republican party from its inception has been the friend of the race and that all helpful legislation has been the work of that party; that the Democratic party has ever been the enemy of the Afro-American people and the author of all legislation inimical to the race, from the infamous Black Codes of 1865 to the disfranchising Southern Constitutions and jim-crow laws of the present decade.

Quotations from leading men and newspapers of both parties clearly show the friendly attitude of the Republicans and the hostile attitude of the Democrats toward the Afro-Americans.

The tables showing the number of Afro-Americans serving under the Federal Government will be a revelation to the majority of the people. They represent careful research and extensive correspondence and are accurate so far as they go, but are not complete, as returns are still coming in from all parts of the country. The true figures would be much larger than those given.

It is a remarkable fact that the number of Afro-American government employees has increased 60 *per cent in the three and one-half years of the Taft Administration and the aggregate annual pay has increased from* $8,000,000 *in* 1908 *to nearly* $12,500,000 *in* 1912, *an increase of* 55 *per cent. Verily the Taft Administration stands for a square deal in deeds, not words.*

The book contains the portraits of twenty Afro-Americans who have been honored by the Republican party, by appointments to high places in the Government service by Republican presidents. This in itself is an object lesson of the interest of the Republican party in the Afro-American people.

Herein is presented in plain facts and figures, what the Republican party has accomplished for the Afro-American. The record of the Democratic party is also given, which proves that its succession to the control of the National Government would be a menace to the civil and political rights of the race.

The action of Theodore Roosevelt in barring Southern Afro-American delegates from his convention at Chicago, is virtually a stand in favor of the repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments and makes the support of the Bull Moose Party by the race, impossible.

OC[illegible] 1912

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE AFRO-AMERICAN.

The real cause of the great civil war was the desire for the extension and perpetuation of that great blot upon the escutcheon of our country, human slavery.

Prior to the advent of Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party, about 4,000,000 Afro-Americans were held in bondage in the Southern States then as now controlled by the Democrats and when the Republican party elected Abraham Lincoln President, thus setting the stamp of disapproval upon the Democratic desires, these Democratic Southern states seceded from the Union and attempted to set up a confederacy with human slavery as the chief corner stone.

The Republican party determined that the confederacy should be destroyed, that the Union should be preserved; and true to its principles and in keeping with his own declarations the Great Emancipator struck the shackles from the limbs of the bondmen.

Following the freedom of the slaves, came their enlistment in the army and navy of the Union, and by this act the names of nearly 200,000 Afro-Americans were added to the honor roll of those who fought for their country in the civil war.

The leaders of the Republican party, feeling that their work was far from completion, framed and passed the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Federal Constitution, and the states ratified their action, thus making slavery impossible and confirming the civil and political rights of the Afro-American people.

Clothed by the Republican party with the right to vote, is it surprising that these newly made citizens voted with the party which had taken them from their former position as mere chattels and made them citizens of the great Republic?

Through the Republican party, Douglass, Bruce, Langston, Dunn, Pinchback, Rainey, Revels, Lewis, Delaney, Smalls and scores of other national characters many of them former slaves, rose to eminence impossible without its aid in the period following the slaveholders' rebellion, and in the present day the Republican party has given many Afro-Americans political prominence and recognition which they can obtain from no other party. The Democratic party has never produced any really great Afro-Americans.

The Republican party stands firmly against disfranchisement. No State controlled by Republicans has disfranchised the Afro-American.

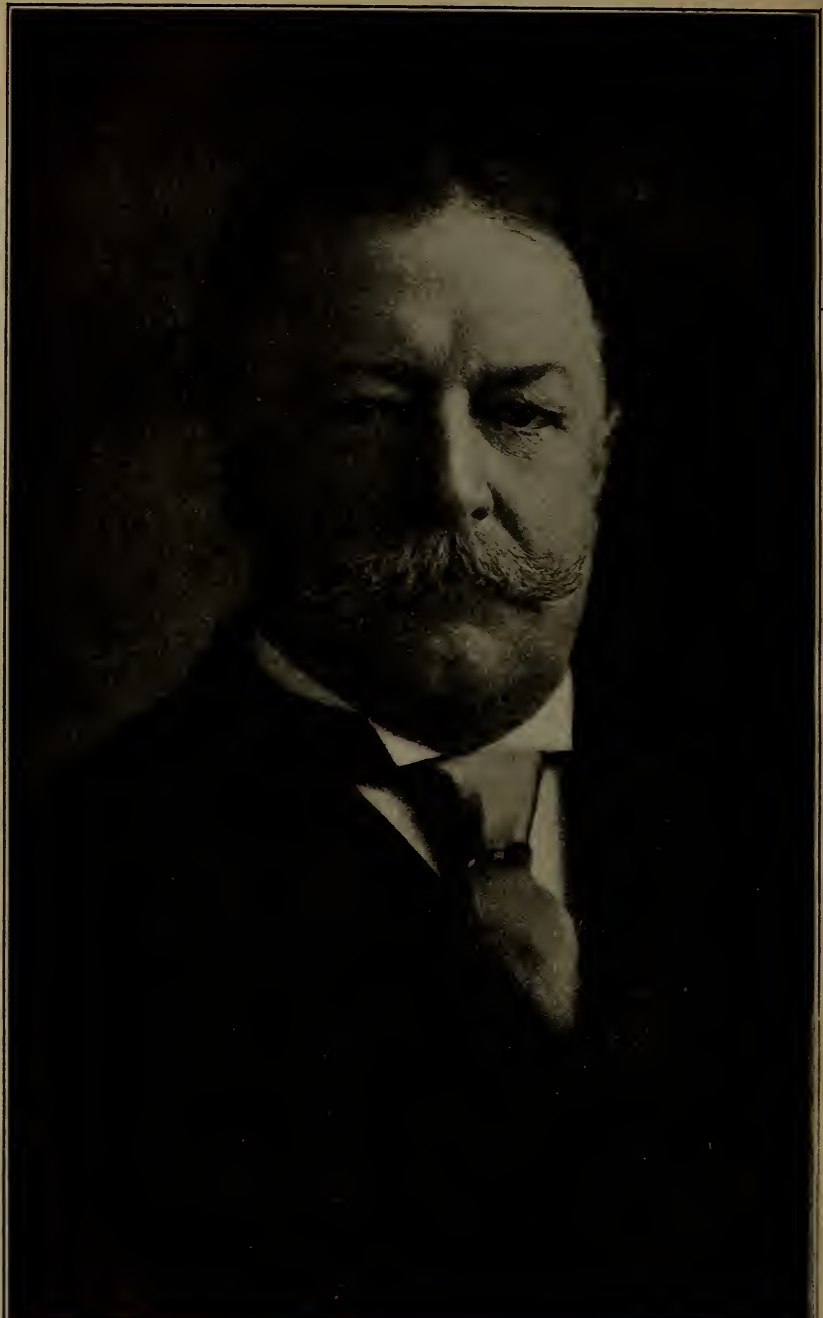
The Republican party has taken a firm stand against jimcrow legislation and no State controlled by Republicans has ever passed a jimcrow or segregation law.

In the matter of public education the difference between the two parties is marked. In the North, where the Republicans generally control, education among the colored people is widely diffused, while in the Democratic South the percentage of illiteracy is great. The Democratic legislators fail to provide equal school facilities for the two races, and in several states the facilities, already meagre, have been recently materially reduced. In Louisiana no Afro-American child receives public instruction above the fifth grade, and there is a general movement throughout the Southern Democratic States to confine the education of the Afro-American children to the lower grades. The movement to divide the school money between whites and Afro-Americans in proportion to their contributions in taxes to the school fund arises in one Democratic Southern State after another, the purpose of which is to perpetuate Afro-American illiteracy.

The Republican party believes that the door of hope and opportunity should not be closed against any man, and this is especially evidenced by the fact that more than 22,000 Afro-Americans are in the service of the Government, drawing salaries aggregating nearly $12,500,000 per annum.

There can be no question in the mind of any honorable, right thinking, sane Afro-American as to which party he should support in this campaign. No truer sentiment has ever been uttered than that of the great Douglass, when he said:

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS THE SHIP; ALL ELSE IS THE SEA.



WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.

The Republican party made no mistake when William Howard Taft was renominated for the Presidency.

He deserves reelection because of the great achievements of his administration. He has shown sober judgment and broad statesmanship.

He is a man of the people, his public record is clean and he stands for policies which mean the continued progress of the Nation.

The Afro-Americans of the United States have a friend in Mr. Taft. He has shown his interest in so many ways. He inherited his open sympathy for the race from his father, Judge Alphonso Taft, than whom the Afro-American never had a better friend.

President Taft stands for the enforcement of the War Amendments. He says he believes "that equal justice to all men and the fair and impartial enforcement of these amendments are in keeping with the real American spirit of fair play."

President Taft gave his active support to the Maryland Republicans when they were opposing the attempts of the Democrats in that State to disfranchise the Afro-American citizens, and some credit for the defeat of the nefarious scheme should be accorded to him.

President Taft has vigorously denounced lynching. In many public utterances he has called it cowardly murder. In a recent address he said that "the men engaged in pulling the rope, under those conditions shall themselves swing by the rope."

President Taft has done much toward obliterating the foul practice of peonage or involuntary slavery so common in the Southern Democratic States.

President Taft stands for the higher education of the Afro-American. He has given Howard University his enthusiastic personal and official support. He has publicly stated his belief that higher education is essential to the full development of the race.

A few years ago Mr. Taft was appointed a trustee of the Jeannes fund for the education of the poor Afro-Americans in the country districts of the South, and his acceptance of the trust is an evidence of his sympathy for the poor and downtrodden. He is also one of the trustees of Hampton Institute, which is devoted to the education of the head, heart and hand.

President Taft has paid high tribute to the Afro-American people for the great progress made in education and industry and has lauded the high ideals of the race.

To President Taft must be given credit for having appointed an Afro-American to the highest office yet attained by one of the race. He did an unprecedented thing when he named a colored man as Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

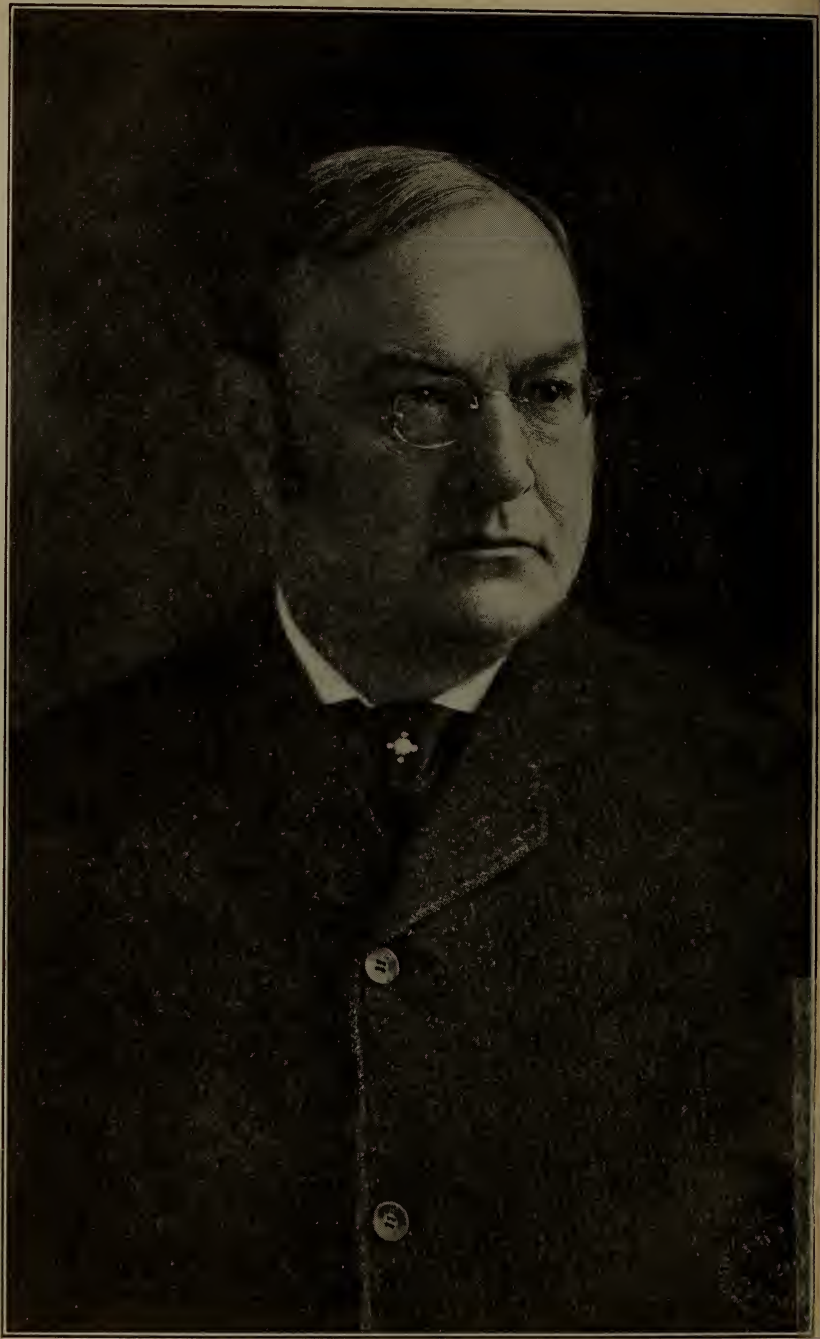
There are more Afro-Americans in the public service under President Taft than ever before in the history of the country. The increase since 1908, according to the figures given out at that time, has been about 60 per cent. and there are now in round numbers about twenty-two thousand colored men in the service of the United States Government and their annual salaries aggregate nearly $12,500,000.

President Taft has given a number of Afro-Americans good places under the civil service by executive order specifying in one case that it was done because the race did not have proper representation in the State.

President Taft has in many public utterances expressed his deep sympathy for the soul sufferings of the Afro-American people.

Addressing an immense audience some years ago. Mr. Taft said:

"I am fully alive to the heart pangs that a colored man endures when suffering from the contemptuous insults of white men not at all his equal, either in point of intelligence or devotion to duty. I know the sense of injustice that has oftentimes burned itself into his breast when he realizes that his rights have been trampled upon and his claims to fair treatment rejected solely because of the color of his skin."



JAMES SCHOOLCRAFT SHERMAN
VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

JAMES SCHOOLCRAFT SHERMAN.

James Schoolcraft Sherman, who has been renominated for Vice President of the United States, is by profession a lawyer.

A graduate of Hamilton College, near his home at Utica, N. Y., in 1878, he received the degree of doctor of laws from that institution. He was admitted to the bar two years after graduation, practiced in his native city and was elected mayor of Utica in 1884.

He was elected to Congress in 1887 and except an interval of two years—1891 and 1893—was continuously re-elected up to 1908, when he was elected Vice President of the United States. His record in office is a good one.

Mr. Sherman has been a consistant friend of the Afro-American ever since his entrance into public life, and in his public utterances he has made many strong pleas for the advancement of the race along all lines of human endeavor.

Vice President Sherman was formally notified of his renomination at his home in Utica, N. Y., on August 21. In accepting the vice-presidential nomination Mr. Sherman said, in part:

''Our party has never before conferred a second nomination for the office of Vice President upon any man. This distinction was not sought by me, but unsolicited, it is the more appreciated. As a loyal republican I stand squarely upon the party platform. I approve of the admirable statement of republican principles and achievements made in the address accepting the nomination for President by William Howard Taft. Upon that platform and associated with President Taft, I gratefully accept the re-nomination.

''Our opponents are divided into two camps, rivaling each other in their efforts to excel in disturbing the civic and economic order of the country. The new party thrusts itself forward into the vacuum left by the phantoms of other third parties which have passed into oblivion. Oblivion, too awaits it. The democratic party in the nation has many times defeated its republican rival in August; but twice has it done so in November.''

''We ask that the republican party and its candidate be tried upon the record of service and accomplishments. We near the end of President Taft's first term of service with our government at amity with all foreign powers, amid domestic tranquility and with our people blessed by prosperity and abundance; our navy among the foremost of the world; our army in a high degree of excellence; our postal service, for the first time in its history, self-sustaining; the colossal dream of the centuries, an isthmian canal, almost a completed reality; our foreign and domestic commerce in a condition of activity, vigor and health, meeting the desires of the most optimistic, and every department of the government rendering proper and efficient aid to law-abiding citizens in every calling. Confident that the American people are not yet willing to destroy and discard the Constitution which has stood the test of more than a century, that they have not yet forgotten the direful result of the mistake of 1892, we calmly await the ides of November.''

In his speech accepting the Republican nomination for the Vice Presidency in 1908; Mr. Sherman said:

''As a Nation our duty compels that by every constitutional and reasonable means the material and educational condition of the colored race be advanced. This we owe to ourselves as well as to them. As the result of a course of events that can never be reversed, they are a part of our civilization; their prosperity is our prosperity their debasement would be our misfortune.

''The Republican party, therefore, will offer every encouragement to the thrift, industry and intelligence that will better their prospect of higher attainment.''

I emphasize as my party's creed and my faith that in legislation and adminis- ration favor should be extended to no class, no sect, no race. To foster class hatred, o foster discontent, is un-Republican and un-American. Our party stands on the eclaration that all men are created with equal rights, and it will have no part in he enactment or execution of any law that does not apply alike to all good Ameri- an citizens.

Under the Taft Administration there are 22,000 Afro-Americans in the public service of the country and they receive nearly $12,500,000 in salaries annually.

The Afro-Americans will never be beguiled by the smooth talk of the Democratic spellbinders.

Reaffirms the Intention of the Republican Party to Uphold the Courts. Condemns Lynching and Lawlessness of Every Kind.

"The Republican party reaffirms its intention to uphold the integrity of the courts, both State and Federal, and it will ever insist that their powers to enforce their processes and to protect life, liberty and property shall be preserved inviolate."

"We call upon the people to quicken their interest in public affairs, to condemn and punish lynchings and other forms of lawlessness, and to strengthen in all possible ways a respect for law and an observance of it."

Everything which benefits the American people as a whole must necessarily benefit the Afro-American as well as all other classes which make up the composite American citizenship and all of the policies of the Republican party as formulated in the platform adopted at Chicago mean much for the average American. There are, however, two planks, as given above, which are of great importance to the colored man, although they are not race planks, but because the race suffers many injustices through the inability or failure of the courts to protect life, liberty and property and also because Afro-Americans are in the majority of instances the helpless victims of the lynchings which disgrace our country.

TAFT FOR THE CONSTITUTION AS IT IS.

On August 1, President Taft was formally notified of his selection, by the Republican National Convention, which met in Chicago, Illinois, June 18-22, as the regular Republican nominee for President. The ceremonies took place in the East Room of the White House in the presence of about three hundred of the most prominent Republicans in the country. A number of Afro-Americans were among those present as guests. At the conclusion of the programme an imformal reception was held, after which all of the guests were entertained at luncheon by President and Mrs. Taft. Senator Elihu Root made the notification address.

Extracts from President Tafts Speech of Acceptance.

"The Republican Party stands for the Constitution as it is, with such amendments adopted according to its provisions as new conditions thoroughly understood may require. We believe that it has stood the test of time and that there have been disclosed really no serious defects in its operation. It is said that this is not an issue in the campaign. It seems to me it is the supreme issue.

"Votes are not bread, constitutional amendments are not work, referendums do not pay rent or furnish houses, recalls do not furnish clothing, initiatives do not supply employment or relieve inequalities of condition or of opportunity.

"We do not know any way to avoid human injustice but to perfect our laws for administering justice, to develop the morality of the individual, to give direct supervision and aid to those who are, and are likely to be, oppressed, and to give as full scope as possible to individual effort and its reward.

The Republican Party is the nucleus of that public opinion which favors constant progress and development along safe and sane lines and under the Constitution, as we have had it for more than one hundred years, and which believes in the maintenance of an independent judiciary as the keystone of our liberties.

"The great majority of voters will be able to distinguish between the substance of performance and the mere fustian of promise; they will be able to see that those who would deliberately stir up discontent and create hostility toward those who are conducting legitimate enterprises and who represent the business progress of the country are sowing dragon's teeth."

May we not expect in the issues which are now before us that the ballots cast in November shall show a prevailing majority in favor of sound progress, great prosperity upon a protective baisis, and under true constitutional and representative rule by the people?

KEYNOTE OF CAMPAIGN.

Chairman Charles D. Hilles of the Republican National Committee Sounds the Keynote of the Presidential Campaign.

"The Republican party approaches the Presidential campaign with confidence in the solemnity of its course and in the integrity and ability of the candidates who represent that cause. Progress with order is good doctrine for the Republican party to-day, as it has been since the day of its birth.

"Real progress is not a theory but an achievement. No American citizen should be deceived into an exchange of his birthright for a vision. The progress of the nation toward better things does not come from declamation, but from actual results. More has been accomplished in the last three years under the administration of President Taft than was ever before accomplished by an American President in the same period of time.

"A distinct line of demarcation between the Republican party and the Democratic party is revealed in the platforms adopted at Chicago and Baltimore. One is an earnest of future progress through a record of achievement; the other is a promise containing a denial of the good that has been done.

"Upon the solid rock of the rights of the individual as granted by the Constitution, the Republican party builds its structure of optimisn. The Democratic party, on the other hand, in the opening sentence of its address to the electorate, betrays its recessional quality by denying the right of Congress, a right again and again confirmed by the Supreme Court, to establish protective duties for the benefit of American industries. It declares as false the vital issue of the constitutional liberties of the individual. Such liberties are now assailed by those who advocate the overthrow of the independence of the judiciary. It would leave the individual defenseless in the protection of those rights declared inalienable under the Constitution."---Statement of Hon. Charles D. Hilles, on July 10, 1912, when he accepted the Chairmanship of the Republican National Committee.

DEMOCRATIC PROMISES BROKEN.

The Southern States were re-admitted to the Union in 1868, after the Civil War, and it was expressly provided that no state should ever abridge the right of any voter.

The Act passed July 28, 1868, was as follows:

"That each of the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, shall be entitled and admitted to representation in Congress as a state of the Union when the legislature of such state shall have duly ratified the amendments to the Constitution of the United States proposed by the 39th Congress, known as Article 14, upon the following fundamental conditions: That the Constitution of neither of said states shall be so amended or changed as to deprive any citizen or class of citizens of the United States of the right to vote in said state, who are entitled to vote by the Constitution thereof, herein recognized, except for the punishment of such crimes as are now felonies at common law, whereof they shall have been convicted under laws equally applicable to the inhabitants of all the States."

Several of the States named have passed laws restricting the right of suffrage and in every Southern state the laws are administered in such a way as to debar thousands of men from exercising their rights as citizens, because their skins are black. This is not only acknowledged but approved by Bryan, Hoke Smith, Vardaman, Tillman, Donaghey and other Democratic leaders.

The Southern States were re-admitted to the Union on the fundamental condition that they would never amend or change their Constitutions so as to deprive any citizen class of citizens of the United States of the right to vote.

It was a sacred obligation. Have they kept it? Can the Democrats who have eliberately broken their promises be trusted?

The election of Woodrow Wilson, Southern born and Southern bred, his mind filled with Southern Democratic traditions, can bring no possible good to the Afro American. "Let us hold fast to that which we know is good."

The progress of the Afro-American people in 50 years of freedom has been greater than that of any other race, similarly environed, recorded in history. A great deal of this progress should be credited to the Republican party.

THE AFRO-AMERICAN AND THE TWO PARTIES.

Gems of Rhetoric and Oratory From the Pens and Tongues of Great Republicans of the Country in Favor of the Race.

Vile Utterances of Some Democrats which Show that the Ascendency of the Democratic Party Would be a Menace to the Race.

REPUBLICAN SENTIMENTS.

Gems from President Taft.

"I am fully alive to the heart pangs that a colored man endures when suffering from the contemptuous insults of white men not at all his equal, either in point of intelligence or devotion to duty. I know the sense of injustice that has often times burned itself into his breast when he realizes that his rights have been trampled upon and his claims to fair treatment rejected solely because of the color of his skin.—Speech of Mr. Taft before A. M. E. Conference, Cincinnati, 1908.

* * * * * *

"I believe in the higher education of the Negro so that the leaders of the Negro race may have high ideals, and I believe they have. I believe that they subscribe, as perhaps some others in our community life do not, to the majesty of the law and have respect for constituted authority." (Hearty applause.)—President at Howard University Meeting.

* * * * * *

"I want to add that I always want to say before an Afro-American audience that you are Americans. The idea of transplanting you is utterly absurd. The only flag you know is the Stars and Stripes, and you are of a race that has given up their lives and moistened the ground with their blood in defense of that flag, and will continue to do so."—Address of President Taft at Y. M. C. A., Augusta, Ga.

* * * * * *

"I know the burdens you have to bear. I can understand the disadvantages under which you labor. I know of your sufferings, mental and otherwise, and humiliations—I can understand what they are and how hard they are to bear, but I want you to know that there are a lot of good people in this world, who sympathize deeply with you and are anxious to help you in your hard course."—From speech of President Taft at Georgia Industrial School, Savannah, Ga., May 1, 1912.

DEMOCRATIC SENTIMENTS.

Intelligent Negro Disturbing Influence.

"The uneducated Negro is a good Negro; he is contented to occupy the natural status of his race, the position of inferiority. The educated and intelligent Negro, who wants to vote, is a disturbing and threatening influence. We don't want him down here; let him go North. I favor, and if elected will urge with all my power, the elimination of the Negro from politics."—Hoke Smith, United States Senator from Georgia.

"Turn the African Tree Climbers Out."

Go down to the Pension Office and take out the Africans. Then go down to the War and Navy Building and take those black sons of the cocoanut region, who sit there with big brown drops of sweat coming out of their foreheads, kick them out * * * turn this brood of African tree climbers out to earn a living on the farms and in the fields.—Congressman Roddenbery (Democrat) of Georgia, in a speech in House of Representatives, April 10, 1912.

Will Never Agree That Races are Equal.

"Every Negro must understand here, now, right off, once and forever, that the Southern people will never, even for an instant agree that the black race is the equal of the white."—New Orleans *Times-Democrat*.

Granting Suffrage a Crime

"The granting of the right of suffrage to the Negroes, en masse, was a crime and blunder. Take away the suffrage from the Negro as it is disallowed to other of our 'colored' citizens."—Bishop T. F. Gailor, of Tennessee.

"Dishonor Him is to Dishonor the Republic Itself."

"Ceasing to be a slave, the former victim has become not only a man but a citizen, admitted alike within the pale of humanity and within the pale of citizenship. As a man he is entitled to all the rights of man, as a citizen he becomes a member of our common household, with equality as the prevailing law. No longer an African, he is an American; no longer a slave, he is common part of a Republic, owing to it patriotic allegiance in return for protection of equal laws. Insult him is to insult an American citizen. Dishonor him is to dishonor the Republic itself. Our rights are his rights; our equality his equality; our privileges and immunities are his great freehold."—CHARLES SUMNER.

Inspired by Lincoln's Tomb.

"I am glad to be at the home of the martyred President. His name is an inspiration and a holy one to all lovers of liberty the world over. He saved the Union. He liberated a race—a race which he once said ought to be free because there might come a time when these black men could keep the jewel of liberty within the family of freedom. If any vindication of that act or of that prophecy were needed, it was found when those brave black men ascended the hill at San Juan in Cuba and charged the enemy at El Caney (great applause). They vindicated their own title to liberty on that field and with our other brave soldiers gave the priceless gift of liberty to another suffering race." President McKinley at Lincoln's tomb, Springfield, Illinois, October 15, 1898.

Efforts to Degrade Must Be Fought.

"The time is ripe for serving notice on the country that further efforts in any section of the land to degrade the Afro-American to a servile position; to create that impossible thing, a Republic with millions of persons taxed but not represented, shall be fought from now on. Leave the murdering in cold blood to the race that proudly calls itself superior, the better civilized."—Oswald Garrison Villard, Editor New York Evening Post.

If Necessary Every Negro Will be Lynched.

"How is the white man going to control the government? The way we do it is to pass laws to fit the white man and make the other people (Negroes) come to them. * * * If it is necessary every Negro in the state will be lynched; it will be done to maintain white supremacy. * * * The Fifteenth Amendment ought to be wiped out. We all agree on that; then why don't we do it? —Ex-Governor James K. Vardaman of Mississippi, now U. S. Senator-elect.

Senator Tillman's Boast.

"I know nothing about other states, but I acknowledge openly and boldly in the sight of God that we did our level best to keep every Negro in our state from voting. We stuffed ballot boxes, we shot Negroes; we are not ashamed of it."—Senator Tillman in the United States Senate.

Bryan on "Brotherhood."

"The white man in the South has disfranchised the negro in self-protection; and there is not a Republican in the North who would not have done the same thing under the same circumstances. The white men of the South are determined that the negro will and shall be disfranchised everywhere it is necessary to prevent the recurrence of the horrors of carpetbag rule."—William Jennings Bryan in speech at New York in 1908.

Determined to Nullify Amendments.

"The white people of the Southern states where the Negroes constitute a large proportion of the population are determined to nullify the 14th amendment to the Constitution of the United States so far as they can. White people of the South are going to rule without regard to numbers or Federal laws. They are the superior race, the only race that is fit to control the government of any country, whether it be the United States, the Philippines, the West Indies or Africa itself."—Memphis Democratic Daily Paper.

"Mississippi is governed by white men although the majority of the population is composed of Negroes. The Negro cuts no figure in our politics.—Ex-Governor Noel of Mississippi.

AFRO-AMERICANS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE.

In Round Numbers There are More Than 22,000 Afro-Americans in the Service of the United States Government and Their Annual Salaries Aggregate Nearly $12,500,000.

The statement has been made that there are fewer Afro-Americans in the service of the Government under President Taft than under previous Republican administrations. The facts refute the statement. On July 1, 1912, there were more Afro-Americans in the service of the United States Government under the Taft Administration than ever before in the history of the country. That their official positions and occupations are many and varied is shown by the following list of official designations:

Assistant Attorney General, agent in tick eradication, agricultural agents, anaesthetist, architects, army paymaster's clerk, artisans, assistant director of domestic art, assistant director of domestic science, assistant director of kindergartens, assistant director of music, assistant director of physical culture, assistant director of primary instruction, doorkeeper, assistant engineers, assistant keeper of scales, assistant librarian, assistant messenger, assistant nurses, assistant pharmacist, assistant post masters, assistant superintendent of construction, assistant superintendent of nurses, assistant superintendent of schools, assistant weighers, attendants, assistant surgeon-in-chief, attendance officer, attorneys, auditor for the navy, bailiff, blacksmith foremen, boatmen bookbinders, bookkeepers, captain, carriage drivers, caster helpers, cashiers, cement finisher, chaplains, charwomen, chief messenger, chief musicians, chiefs of divisions, cleaners, clerks, coal passers, collaborators, collectors of customs, collectors of internal revenue, consul, consular agents, consul general, cook, counters, counter in charge, custodians, custodian of presses, darners, dental inspectors, deputies, deputy collectors of customs, deputy collectors of internal revenue, deputy stamp clerk, deputy United States marshals, director of domestic art, director of domestic science, director of kindergarten, director of music, director of physical culture, director of primary instruction, district attorney, domestics, draughtsmen, electrotype molder's apprentice, elevator conductors, engineers, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary, examiner, examiners of merchandise, farm demonstrators, farmers, fireman helpers, firemen, floor hands, folders, foreman brick burner, foreman brick mason, freight handler, gaugers, guards, head cooks, heads of departments, first lieutenants, head waiter, helpers, hospital orderlies, hydraulic presser, immigrant inspectors, imposers, ink carrier, inspectors of customs, janitors, keeper of scales, laboratory assistants, laborers laundresses, laundrymen, letter carriers, lieutenant colonel, machine operators, maids, major, medical inspector, messengers, messenger boys, mimeograph operators, minister resident and consul general, monotype operators, musicians, night inspectors, night supervisor of nurses, nurses, oilers, operatives, packers, painters, patent examiners, pharmacist, pay clerks, plumber, policemen, press cleaners, press feeders, pressmen, private secretaries, principals of high schools, private secretary to congressman, pulp macerator, principal of normal school, principals of public schools, railway postal clerks, receivers of public moneys, recorder of deeds, registers of land offices, register of the treasury, revenue agents, rural carriers, samplers, seamstresses, second cook, sewers, shippers, secretary of legation, skilled laborers, special agents, special assistant attorneys, stablemen, stenographers, stewards, storekeepeer, substitute carriers, substitute clerks, sugar samplers, superintendents, superintendent of carriers, superintendents of construction, superintendent of home school, supervisor of Indian schools, supervising principals of schools, teachers, teamsters, third cook, timekeepers, translators, typewriters, van drivers, vice consul, vice consul general, vice and deputy consul and clerk, wagon drivers, wagon messengers, waiters, waste paper assorters, watchmen weighers, wrappers.

The highest salary paid an Afro-American is received by the Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States to Haiti, whose salary is $10,000 per annum. A number of government officials receive from $2,500 to $5,000 per year. Clerks are paid from $900 to $1,800.

According to the figures given out in 1908, there were 13,978 Afro-Americans in the service of the Federal Government and their annual salaries aggregated $8,032,355. As the number of Afro-Americans now in the Government service is 22,440 and their aggregate annual salaries $12,456,760 it is evident that there has been an increase of more than 60 per cent in the number of Afro-Americans employed and an increase of 55 per cent in the amount of salaries received under the Administration of President Taft.

Afro-American officers, clerks, and other employees in the service of the United States Government, September 1, 1912.

	No.	Salaries.
The White House	27	$19,302
Departmental Service, Washington, D. C.:		
State	26	19,360
Treasury	926	588,801
War	170	130,380
Navy	74	52,610
Post Office	187	118,173
Interior	593	358,112
Justice	43	26,640
Agriculture	164	89,816
Commerce and Labor	139	94,800
Washington Navy Yard	364	228,454
Government Printing Office	634	434,856
Interstate Commerce Commission	41	22,080
United States Senate, including Office Building	115	73,100
Library of Congress	46	24,920
Washington, D. C., City Post Office	171	174,600
District of Columbia Government, including unskilled laborers	2,413	1,479,000
Miscellaneous	194	104,114
Departmental Service at large:		
State (Diplomatic and Consular)	16	38,410
Treasury	1,082	743,373
War	2,342	1,075,320
Post Office	3,599	2,807,134
Interior	31	25,738
Agriculture	102	53,217
Commerce and Labor	64	42,612
United States Army, officers	11	28,455
United States Army, enlisted men	4,416	1,133,766
United States Navy, enlisted men	1,529	678,050
United States Navy, yards and stations	2,146	1,210,070
Miscellaneous, including unclassified	775	581,515
Total	22,440	$12,456,760
Recapitulation by localities:		
Foreign Stations (Diplomatic and Consular)	16	$38,410
Washington, D. C.	6,327	4,039,118
New York City	635	599,394
Chicago, Illinois	670	588,902
Boston, Mass.	91	86,491
Cincinnati, Ohio	56	49,840
Richmond, Virginia	86	78,540
Jackson, Mississippi	33	29,220
Mobile, Alabama	63	60,173
Indianapolis, Indiana	40	30,460
St. Louis, Missouri	195	167,020
Louisville, Kentucky	98	86,840
At miscellaneous points	14,130	6,602,352
Total	22,440	$12,456,760

IN HIGH PLACES.

Some Afro-Americans Who Have been Honored by the Republican Party; Appointed, Recommended or Retained by the President.

William H. Lewis, Assistant Attorney General, Washington, D. C.
J. C. Napier, Register of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.
Charles W. Anderson, Collector of Internal Revenue, New York, N. Y.
Henry Lincoln Johnson, Recorder of Deeds, Washington, D. C.
Ralph W. Tyler, Auditor for the Navy, Washington, D. C.
C. F. Adams, Assistant Register of the Treasury, Washington, D. C.
Robert H. Terrell, Judge Municipal Court, Washington, D. C.
Joseph E. Lee, Collector of Internal Revenue, Jacksonville, Fla.
N. W. Alexander, Register of Land Office, Montgomery, Ala.
John E. Bush, Receiver of Public Moneys, Little Rock, Ark.
Whitefield McKinlay, Collector of Customs, Washington, D. C.
Charles A. Cottrill, Collector of Internal Revenue, Honolulu, Hawaii.
T. V. McAllister, Receiver of Public Moneys, Jackson, Miss.
S. L. Williams, Special Assistant District Attorney, Chicago, Ill.
Gen. Robert Smalls, Collector of Customs, Beaufort, S. C.
James A. Cobb, Special Assistant District Attorney, Washington, D. C.
Isaiah J. McCottrie, Collector of Customs, Georgetown, S. C.
John M. Holzendorf, Collector of Customs, St. Mary's, Ga.
Mary C. Booze, Postmaster, Mound Bayou, Miss.
W. C. Matthews, Special Assistant District Attorney, Boston, Mass.
George A. Reed, Postmaster, Beaufort, S. C.
W. D. Johnson, Agent in Tick Eradication, Department of Agriculture.
J. B. Washington, Postmaster, Tuskegee Institute, Alabama.
William L. Jones, Postmaster, Boley, Oklahoma.
W. T. Vernon, Supervisor of Indian Schools.
James M. Alexander, Deputy Collector Internal Revenue, Los Angeles, California.
P. B. S. Pinchback, Revenue Agent, New York City.

Assistant Attorney General.

To President Taft must be given the credit for having appointed an Afro-American to the highest appointive office ever held by one of the race. When he named Hon. William H. Lewis of Massachusetts as Assistant Attorney General, Mr. Taft did an unprecedented thing as this is a near-cabinet position. Mr. Lewis' commission is dated March 27, 1911. He was assigned by Attorney General Wickersham to Indian Depredation Claims.

A summary of the report of the Assistant Attorney General Lewis in charge of Indian depredation claims, is as follows:

Total Nnmber of cases filed	10,841.
Amount claimed	$43,515,867.06
Cases reduced to judgment	9,676.
Amount claimed in such cases	$38,764,027.25
Cases reinstated since Nov. 1, 1910	36.
Amount claimed in such cases	$134,564.44
Judgments for claimants from Nov. 1, 1910 to Nov. 1, 1911	46.
Amount claimed	$274,120.44
Amount of judgments for claimants	$45,864.00
Judgments for defendants from Nov. 1, 1910 to Nov. 1, 1911	170.
Amount claimed	$674,792.84
Number of cases now pending	1,165.
Amount Claimed	$4,751,839.81

The above statement shows that since the date of the last annual report, 216 cases have been decided by the court, the total amount claimed in such cases being $948,913.28. The claimants recovered judgments in 46 cases, the amount claimed being $274,120.44 and the amount awarded them being $45,864. In 170 cases the judgments were in favor of the defendants, the amount claimed in such cases being $674,792.84.

AFRO-AMERICANS AT THE WHITE HOUSE.

Race Fares Well under Administration of President Taft. Place of Custodian Created for Major Arthur Brooks, N. G. D. C. Twenty-seven Colored Employees Receive about $20,000 in Salaries Annually.

When Mr. Taft became president, March 4, 1909, there were six colored messengers and laborers employed in the Executive Office. In the reorganization of the office in 1911, two were transferred to positions in the Departmental service. One was afflicted with tuberculosis and the President had him transferred to a good position in the War Department in New Mexico on advice of his physician. Since the President's inauguration three colored employees have been added: Major Arthur Brooks, Commanding First Separate Battalion, N. G. D. C., for whom the place of custodian was created, William Pannell and Harry L. Mickey.

In the Executive Mansion the following Afro-Americans, in addition to several others who are still on the rolls, were employed at the time the President came into office: Messrs. Duncan, Amos, Brent, Reeder and Pinckny. Mr. Duncan was transferred to the Treasury Department at an increased salary; Mr. Brent was transferred as a clerk to the city post office at an increased salary; Mr. Reeder was transferred to the State Department. Mr. Pinckny was given a good place in the Executive Office, and Mr. Amos was given a good place in New York.

All of these places were filled by the President with colored men. In addition the President appointed the following Afro-American employees at the Executive Mansion: W. W. Brown, J. W. Mays, S. C. Jackson, L. C. Peters and Miss Annie Brooks. When the President came into office there were five colored coachmen and hostlers at the White House stables. On account of changing from carriages to automobiles, chauffeurs and footmen were employed, but places were found in the Departments for four of these coachmen and hostlers and the other voluntarily accepted a position in New York.

There are on the regular pay roll of the Executive Office, six colored employees whose salaries aggregate $5,960 per annum. On the regular pay roll of the Executive Mansion, there are twenty colored employees whose annual salaries aggregate $11,562. One colored employee in the White House garage receives a salary of $780 per annum. A number of colored men and women are employed for duty at functions during the social season and their pay in the aggregate amounts to more than $1,000. The total amount paid to Afro-Americans at the White House is nearly $20,000 per annum.

After twenty-five years of faithful service as the commanding officer of a battalion of the National Guard of the District of Columbia, Major Arthur Brooks has recently been retired with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. His commission was signed by President Taft. Lieutenant Colonel Brooks is still on duty as custodian at the White House.

The Afro-American and His Debt to the Republican Party.

If the Afro-American citizen recalls the past he must acknowledge that every privilege he has in this country came to him at the hands of the Republican party. The Democrats opposed every proposition looking toward his welfare during the long struggle over the Negro question in the years following the slaveholders' rebellion. The history of the United States tells a conclusive story on these points. Freedom, manhood, education, suffrage, opportunity were given by the party of which Taft and Sherman are the standard bearers.

To the Democratic party the race owes: Two hundred and fifty years of slavery, peonage, disfranchisement, jimcrowism, lynching, curtailment of educational facilities, segregation, humiliation and degradation.

The Washington Custom House.

The present Collector of Customs at Washington, Hon. Whitefield McKinlay, is an Afro-American and was appointed by President Taft, August 5, 1910. He is paid a salary and commissions which aggregated $3,755 for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1912. The value of imports has increased over $20,000 since Mr. McKinlay became Collector, and last year amounted to $1,132,024.00.

AFRO-AMERICANS

In the Field of Diplomacy and in the Consular Service, July 1, 1912.

Name.	Position and Address.	Salary.
Diplomatic:		
Henry W. Furniss	Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at Port au Prince, Haiti	$10,000
William D. Crum	Minister Resident and Consul General at Monrovia, Liberia	5,000
Richard C. Bundy	Secretary of Legation at Monrovia, Liveria	2,000
Consular:		
William J. Yerby	Consul at Sierre Leone, West Africa	2,000
James C. Carter	Consul at Tamatave, Madagascar	2,500
Christopher H. Payne	Consul at St. Thomas, West Indies	3,000
George H. Jackson	Consul at Cognac, France	2,500
Lemuel W. Livingston	Consul at Cape Haitien, Haiti	2,000
William H. Hunt	Consul at St. Etienne, France	2,500
Herbert R. Wright	Consul at Puerto Cabello, Venezuela	2,000
James W. Johnson	Consul at Corinto, Nicaragua	3,000
Subordinate Consular Positions:		
Edmond A. Burrill	Vice and Deputy Consul and Clerk at St. Etienne, France	1,000
DeWitt W. Perdue	Vice and Deputy Consul and Clerk at St. Thomas, West Indies	600
John H. Reed	Vice Consul General at Monrovia, Liberia	* .....
J. William Woel	Consular Agent, Gonaives, Haiti	† 152
St. Charles Villedrouin	Consular Agent, Jeremie, Haiti	† 158
Total		$38,410

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*Vice and Deputy Consular Officers as such receive compensation only in the absence of the principal Consular Officer.

†Consular Agents, under statute, receive as compensation one-half the official fees collected by them, not exceeding $1,000 in any one year. They are permitted to engage in business. The above amounts show compensation of agents for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1911,

THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

Has a Larger Number of Afro-American Presidential Appointees Than Any Other Department of the United States Government.

The Treasury Department has in the city of Washington, 926 Afro-American employees with an aggregate compensation of $588,801. Outside of Washington the Treasury Department has 1,082 Afro-American Employees with a total compensation of $743,373. This is a total of 2,008 Afro-Americans employed in the Treasury Department with a total compensation of $1,332,174. These are the figures so far as known, but returns are still coming in and a reasonable estimate of the total number of colored employees would be 2,200, and an aggregate annual compensation of $1,500,000.

The Register of the Treasury.

One of the most important offices in the Treasury Department, that of the Register of the Treasury, has been continuously filled by colored men under Republican appointment, during more than a quarter of a century, while under Democratic administrations during that time no Negro was considered worthy to occupy that position. The importance of this office is indicated by the fact that the signature of the Register as well as that of the Treasurer of the United States is attached to all paper currency issued by the Government and the signature of a colored man has thus been one of the two names attached to every piece of paper money issued under Republican administrations since 1881, when Blanche K. Bruce was appointed register of the Treasury; while under Democratic administrations names of white Democrats were substituted when Rosecrans and Tillman, respectively, were appointed to that position.

Duties of the Register of the Treasury.

The Register of the Treasury signs all bonds of the United States, the bonds of the District of Columbia, the Philippine Islands, the city of Manila, the city of Cebu, and the Porto Rican gold loan, and keeps records showing the daily outstanding balances thereof. He examines, counts, and prepares for destruction the upper halves of all redeemed paper money, except national-bank notes, received from the banks through the Office of the Treasurer of the United States for redemption, all paid interest coupons, and all other United States securities redeemed.

Each day the Register receives a statement from the Loans and Currency Division, showing all transactions in bonds, whether issued, transferred, or exchanged. Redeemed bonds are received by the Register from the Treasurer of the United States and after examination and entry are returned to him. This makes the office of the Register a complete check on these offices so far as the Government's bonded indebtedness is concerned, and enables the Register from his records to know the outstanding bonded indebtedness of the United States at the close of each business day.

An interesting part of the Register's Office is the Currency Section, where upper halves of the mutilated paper currency, sent in for redemption are counted before destruction by maceration. The register is represented, by an employee of the office, on each of the special committees in connection with the examination, and destruction of United States redeemed securities, national currency, burned and multilated notes, internal revenue and postage stamps, etc. During the past year, 485,495 redeemed and canceled Seven-Thirty notes amounting to $140,073,050 and 3,101,699 Seven-Thirty Coupon Treasury notes amounting to $829,841,850, and 56 years' accumulation of redeemed detached and canceled coupons of old and matured loans, numbering 103,250,868 and amounting to $1,237,342,994.30 were counted and prepared for destruction by order of the Secretary of the Treasury. This special count required several months to complete, but when it was finished the number and amount of the securities balanced with the figures in the books. There was not one cent difference. Notwithstanding the destruction of this immense number of canceled securities there are still on file 18,731,944 redeemed and canceled certificates amounting to $5,218,341, 725.09. These are so systematically arranged that in case any particular piece is needed for any purpose it may be found in a few minutes.

The volume of business transacted by the Register's Office is so great that it would be impracticable to give the details. The total interest-bearing debt of the United States is $963,776,770.00.

The present Register of the Treasury, Hon. J. C. Napier, of Tennessee, is a colored man. He was appointed by President Taft, in 1911. The Afro-Americans on the Register's pay roll for the year ended June 30, 1912, received $16,000 in salaries.

Office of the Auditor for the Navy Department.

The Office of Auditor for the Navy Department is held by Hon. R. W. Tyler, of Ohio, a colored man. The work of the office is to audit all accounts of the Navy Department, and to settle all claims arising in that department. During the fiscal year just closed this office audited accounts amounting to $152,666,269.29. This office has the largest clerical force of any bureau presided over by a colored man, there being 100 employees, eighteen are colored, eleven of these eighteen colored employees having been appointed during Mr. Tyler's administration, there being but seven in the office when he took charge. The total salaries paid per annum to all employees in this office, amount to $137,590. Of this amount the colored employees in the office receive $25,680 per annum. This office has a larger number of high grade colored clerks than any other office administered by any colored or white official. Of the eight colored clerks in the entire government service at Washington, who are paid the maximum clerk's salary, $1,800, four of them are in the Office of the Auditor for the Navy Department. Although the volume of business transacted by this office is far in excess of what it was at the time the present auditor took charge, by adopting modern methods he has been able to reduce the number of clerks from 115 to 100. At the time the present auditor took charge, the work of the office was three years behind. To-day it is right abreast with the work, the past year having been unprecedented for the record made in gaining on the work.

TREASURY NOTES.

Interesting and Instructive Data About the Treasury Department and Afro-Americans in Its Service.

There are 84 Afro-Americans in the various branches of the Treasury Service at New Orleans, La., and their annual salaries amount to $68,980.

Mr. Justin M. Holland, Deputy Collector of Customs at New Orleans, La., receives a salary of $3,000 per annum. He is a colored man.

The 216 Afro-American employees in the various branches of the Treasury Service at New York City, receive annual salaries aggregating more than $200,000.

The 18 Afro-Americans employed under the Treasury Department at Galveston, Texas, draw $14,000 in salaries annually.

Twenty-nine colored employees in the Treasury service at Atlanta, Ga., are paid salaries aggregating $19,116 per annum.

Twelve colored employees under the Treasury Department at Key West, Florida, receive $8,293 annually.

There are 27 colored men in the Treasury service at Baltimore, Maryland, and their annual salaries aggregate $18,601.

Fifty-two Afro-Americans employed under the Treasury Department at Philadelphia, draw $31,326 per annum in salaries.

In the Treasury service at San Francisco, Cal., there are 24 Afro-American employees and their salaries aggregate $19,982 annually.

James M. Alexander, Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue at Los Angeles, California, was appointed by executive order of President Taft in 1909. In the order the President gave as one of the reasons for his action the fact that the Afro-Americans of California did not have proper representation in the service of the Government. Mr. Alexander is the chief deputy and also acts as cashier of the office.

There was some opposition to the appointment of Charles A. Cottrill as Collector of Internal Revenue at Honolulu, Hawaii. A delegation came from the island to protest against it, but Secretary MacVeagh was firm in his recommendation of Mr. Cottrill as the best qualified man for the place so the appointment was made by the President.

In the Bureau of Engraving and Printing there are 551 Afro-American employees receiving from $1.50 to $4.00 per day. Only 70 receive less than $1.75 per day.

Mr. E. R. Belcher, Deputy Collector of Customs at Brunswick, Ga., has been in the service many years and has made an excellent record.

Learning that ex-Governor Pinchback's fortune had been swept away and that he needed employment to provide for himself and his family in his declining years President Taft directed that he be given a place in the Internal Revenue service at $10 per day and after Governor Pinchback had served long enough to prove his efficiency, the place was put under civil service so that the ex-Governor has been provided a place which is not subject to political changes and is fixed for life.

A few years ago, W. W. Hall, an Afro-American was a laborer working for $548 a year in the Bureau of Engraving and Printing, but thanks to the Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Franklin MacVeagh, he has been rapidly promoted and is now a first class stenographer earning a good salary.

THE UNITED STATES ARMY.

List of Afro-American Officers with Rank and Yearly Pay. Number of Enlisted Men With Aggregate Annual Pay.

Officers.	Yearly Pay.
Major John R. Lynch (retired)	$2,700
Captain Charles Young	3,360
1st Lieut. Benjamin O. Davis	2,400
1st Lieut. John E. Green	2,400
Lt.-Col. Allen Allensworth (retired)	3,375
Major Wm. T. Anderson (retired)	2,700
Captain George W. Prioleau	3,120
1st Lieut. W. W. E. Gladden	2,200
1st Lieut. Oscar J. W. Scott	2,200
1st Lieut. Louis A. Carter	2,000
M. M. McCary, Army Paymaster's clerk	2,000
Total yearly pay of officers	$28,455
Enlisted men in the 9th and 10th Cavalry, and 24th and 25th Infantry, 4,416, and their yearly pay in the aggregate amounts to	1,133,766
Total for officers and men	$1,162,221

CHIEF MUSICIANS.

The Chief Musicians in the four Afro-American regiments in the United States Army are colored men. The names, enlistment periods, and monthly rates of pay are as follows, their aggregate annual pay being included in the figures given above for enlisted men:

Band.	*Name of Chief Musician.*	*Enlistment.*	*Rate of Pay.*
9th Cavalry	Wade H. Hammond	1st Enlistment Period.	$75.00 per Mo.
10th Cavalry	Alfred J. Thomas	3rd Enlistment Period.	83.00 per Mo.
24th Infantry	Edward Polk	8th Enlistment Period.	99.00 per Mo.
25th Infantry	Leslie King	5th Enlistment Period.	91.00 per Mo.

PHILIPPINE CONSTABULARY BAND.

Captain Walter H. Loving, Conductor of the Philippine Constabulary Band, receives annual pay amounting to $2,525.00 in American gold, and quarters. He is an Afro-American. His original enlistment was dated January 13, 1902. The Musicians in the band are Filipinos.

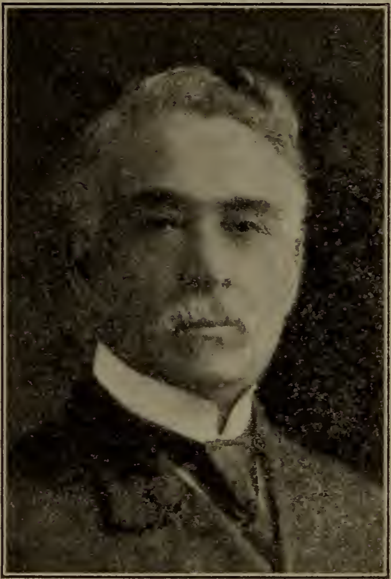
DOUGLASS ON LINCOLN.

An Appreciation of the Great Emancipator and First Republican President By the Greatest Afro-American.

''How sad and strange the fate of this great and good man, the saviour of his country, the embodiment of human charity whose heart though strong, was as tender as the heart of childhood; who always tempered justice with mercy; who sought to supplant the sword with the counsel of reason, to suppress passion by kindness and moderation; who had a sigh for every human grief and a tear for every human woe; should at last perish by the hand of a desperate assassin, against whom no thought of malice had ever entered his heart.''—Frederick Douglass.

HON. WILLIAM H. LEWIS
Assistant Attorney General of the United States.

HON. HENRY W. FURNISS
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Haiti.



HON. J. C. NAPIER
Register of the Treasury.

HON. HENRY L. JOHNSON
Recorder of Deeds for the District of Columbia.

Taft Administration Has Done Much Toward Stamping Out Peonage by Vigorous Enforcement of the Statutes Against this Form of Involuntary Servitude.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States. —Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Peonage, the new system of slavery in the Democratic South, may be defined as causing compulsory service to be rendered by one man to another, on the pretext of having him work out the amount of a debt, real or claimed; also the carrying or enticing of any person from one place to another in order that he may be held in involuntary servitude.

The Taft Administration through the Department of Justice, has done much toward obliterating this foul practice so common in the South. Attorney General Wickersham in his annual report recommends that the United States statutes upon the subject of peonage and slavery, be amended so as to render them more effective. The following is from the Annual Report of the Attorney General:

Enforcement of Peonage Statutes.

The vigorous enforcement of the statutes against peonage conducted by the department in the last few years, it is believed, has done much toward stamping out that form of involuntary servitude in many districts, but in some of the Southern States this practice appears to be still quite extensively carried on. Prosecutions under the peonage statutes have been instituted in nearly all the Southern States, and in a few States not in the South. Convictions, owing to local prejudice, are difficult to secure, but they have been obtained in a number of States. Even where convictions have not been secured, it is thought that the acts of cruelty and oppression which frequently mark these peonage cases, disclosed in the course of their trial, have had the effect of turning the sentiment of the people against the methods which give rise to prosecutions for involuntary servitude.

The chief support of peonage lies in the peculiar system of laws prevailing in some of the Southern States intended to compel personal service on the part of laborers. The usual practice, under these State laws, seems to be for the person who desires the services of a laborer to swear out a warrant against him for some alleged offense, have him taken before a justice of the peace, and bound over to the next term of court, the complainant becoming surety or procuring bail for him, and then taking him to his farm or plantation and compelling him to labor through the fear or threat of imprisonment. Another expedient, expressly authorized by the laws of some States, is for the interested party to confess judgment on behalf of a laborer who has been accused of some offense, pay the same, and then have the laborer bound under a contract made under the supervision of the court to work out the indebtedness so contracted. The constitutionality of such laws is now in process of being tested by the department.

At its last term, the Supreme Court of the United States, in Bailey v. The State of Alabama (219 U. S., 219), rendered a decision which goes far toward holding unconstitutional a statute designed, under the guise of punishing persons who obtained money under false pretenses, to enforce a condition of involuntary servitude, by declaring a provision thereof which made a breach of contract prima facie evidence of an intent to defraud, to be in violation of the thirteenth amendment.

It is suggested that the statutes of the United States upon the subject of peonage and slavery should be amended so as to render them more effective for the protection of persons against slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime. The penal provisions on this subject are now embodied in sections 268, 269, 270, and 271 of the Criminal Code. These statutes should be made as broad as the fifteenth amendment, and should penalize the holding of any person in a condition of slavery or involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime where the party shall have been duly convicted. As the statutes now stand, they do not appear to cover completely the case of holding a person as a slave, and the only form of involuntary servitude penalized is that of peonage, or compulsory service in payment of debt.

Section 1990 of the Revised Statutes, which undertakes to abolish peonage, and nullifies any laws, customs, or usages of any State or Territory under which peonage is sought to be established or maintained, should also be amended by making it clearly apply to any form of involuntary servitude covered by the thirteenth amendment, and also by providing for the punishment of any person who attempts to enforce, or aids or abets the enforcement of, such a statute, custom, or usage for any such purpose.

HOWARD UNIVERSITY.

Great Institution of Learning Founded by Gen. O. O. Howard in 1867. Fifty-four Per Cent of the Officers, Professors, Teachers and Enployees are Afro-Americans.

Has Enthusiastic Personal and Official Support of President Taft.

Howard University was founded by Gen. O. O. Howard and his associates. Funds were received for buildings from the appropriation by the National Government for the education of the Freedmen. The first annual appropriation was for 1879, and was $10,000. An annual appropriation has been continued to the present. For 1911-12 it was $92,900. In recent years there has been an appropriation of $90,000 for a Science Hall, also one for an addition to the Manual Arts Building of $23,000.

While special provision was made for the higher education of the Afro-American, no race was excluded, and North American Indians, Chinese, Japanese and Europeans of several nationalities, besides Caucasian-American citizens, have in the past been in the several departments, being especially attracted by the superior advantages in the professional schools. During the last six years the attendance upon the University has increased from 818 to 1,409; the increase in the regular courses of the School of Liberal Arts (including the College of Arts and Sciences and Teachers' College) has been from 102 to 356. Last year there was a student body of 1,409, representing 37 states, with 111 from 11 foreign countries, nearly all however, being identified with the colored race.

Howard University Has Approval of President Taft.

President Taft has placed his personality and his official position back of the support of the University. He has spoken on its Campus on two important occasions and has given two addresses elsewhere especially in its behalf. He has stated as no other President has, the duty of the Government in the following utterances.

The Work and Mission of Howard University.

"This institution here is the partial repayment of a debt—only partial—to a race to which the government and the people of the United States are eternally indebted. They brought that race into this country against its will. They planted it here irretrievably. They first put it in bondage, and they kept it in the ignorance that the bondage seemed to make necessary, under the system then in vogue. Then they freed it, and put upon it the responsibilities of citizenship. Now some sort of obligation follows that chain of facts with reference to the people who are responible for what that government did. It is fitting that the government of the United States should assume the obligation of the establishment and maintenance of a first class university for the education of colored men. * * * Everything that I can do as an executive in the way of helping along this University I expect to do. I expect to do it because I believe it is a debt of the people of the United States, and it is money constitutionally applied to that which shall work out in the end the solution of one of the great problems that God has put upon the people of the United States." —From speech of President Taft at Howard University.

Higher Education Essential to Race.

Now it is highly essential that all of the men of your race and any other race who are to occupy the learned professions shall be equipped with a complete education and those of us who are responsible for the coming of your race to this country are equally responsible for furnishing the means by which they shall lift themselves.

(Hearty applause.) It is essential that we should encourage those who aspire to be the leaders of your race as far as possible and furnish the means for higher education such as are supplied by Howard University, by Fisk University and other institutions established for the higher education of your race. Now these people who are worrying about the waste of money on that account, need not sit up at night on the subject, for I have looked into the amount of money that is invested in these institutions and there is not anywhere enough money to furnish the education that is needed by the colored people of this country. (Applause.) The funds are not sufficient. Howard University is under the shadow of the Capitol and properly receives and ought to receive money enough to make it a great educational institution. (Hearty applause.)

Of course, it is well to have voluntary contributions where you can get them but where you can not get them they ought to be pieced out with the governmental appropriations. (Applause.)—From speech of President Taft at meeting in interest of Howard University gymnasium, April 9, 1912.

There are 85 Afro-Americans regularly employed as Officers, Teachers and in other positions in Howard University with an aggregate annual salary of $59,223.60 This is over 54 per cent of the total number of persons so employed. In all cases the same salaries are paid for similar positions. There is in addition to this a large number of students employed as janitors and in other work.

THE PROGRESS IN EDUCATION.

The progress of the Afro-American people in education has been remarkable. The decrease in illiteracy as shown by census figures is as follows:

1870—79.9 per cent.
1880—70.0 per cent.
1890—57.1 per cent.
1900—44.5 per cent.
1910—30.4 per cent.

There are 3,422,157 Afro-Americans from 6 to 20 years of age, inclusive, in the United States and 1,619,699 or 47.3 per cent, are attending school. A larger number ought to be in school but they are not able to do so by reason of the inadequate facilities provided for the race in the Southern Democratic States.

In the Northern, Eastern and Western States, very generally under the domination of the Republican party, Afro-Americans have been accorded the same rights as other citizens and have attended the same schools. In the Democratic South a separate school system exists and the schools for Afro-American are generally inferior to those for Caucasians and they are not absolutely equal in a single Southern Democratic State. Forced to a great extent by Republican opinion of the North the Southern Democrats have done something for the education of the colored race but it is very little when compared with the provisions for education in the Republican North where in the public schools, the child of every citizen has an equal share in the school facilities.

A concrete example of this is shown in Birmingham, Alabama, where the white school population in 1910 *was* 19,810 *and the value of the white high school building, grounds and equipment was* $200,168.64, *while the colored school population was* 19,726 *and the value of the colored high school building, grounds and equipment was* $1,050. *Another example*: *The white population of Bedford, Virginia, is* 1,400; *the colored population* 1,100. *The cost of the colored school building, including the ground, was* $4,500; *the school board is now planning a* $30,000 *school building for the whites. Thousands of similar cases could be cited.*

Progress is being made, however, in spite of the injustices and hinderances, for which malevolent Democratic influence is responsible. The proof of the progress lies in the fact that the illiteracy of the race has been reduced nearly 50 per cent (49.5 per cent) in forty years and the credit for this must be given very largely to Republican sentiment.

President Taft has shown himself to be deeply interested in the education of the Afro-American people. He has delivered many public addresses advocating every kind of education for the race. He is one of the trustees of Hampton Institute. He is also a trustee of the Jeannes Fund for the education of the poor colored children of the rural districts of the South, who are denied decent school facilities in many localities by their Democratic neighbors, and since his acceptance of this trust, several meetings of the board of trustees have been held in the White House. Mr. Taft is especially interested in the higher education of the race and in a recent address he publicly stated that he believed that a college education is just as essential to the full development of the race as is industrial education.

The Bureau of Education.

The Commissioner of Education in his report for the year ending June 30, 1911, gives a special chapter on schools for the colored race. This is an addition to the statistics on colored schools for all grades, which are included in the general educational statistics in the other chapters of his report.

The summary of the enrollment of the 150 public high schools for Afro-Americans reporting to the Bureau of Education for 1911, shows that there are 513 teachers for the high school grades, an enrollment of 9,641 secondary or high school students and 2,021 elementary pupils.

Table 2 of the report of the Commissioner of Education shows that 238 secondary and higher schools for Negroes (not including the 150 public high schools) had 3,398 teachers, 40,945 elementary pupils, 23,834 secondary students, or students of high school grade, and 5,313 students in collegiate and professional classes. Table 3 of the report shows that 205 of the 238 schools had libraries, aggregating 442,155 volumes, 229 possessed property valued at $17,120,311, and 224 of the schools reported total income for the year aggregating $2,579,714.

The Morrill Act of 1890, which was an act ''to apply a portion of the proceeds of the public lands to the more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts established under the provisions of an act of Congress approved July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two,'' provides ''That no money shall be paid out under this act to any State or Territory for the support and maintenance of a college where a distinction of race or color is made in the admission of students, but the establishment and maintenance of such colleges separately for white and colored students shall be held to be a compliance with the provisions of this act if the funds received in such State or Territory be equitably divided as hereinafter set forth: *Provided,* That in any State in which there has been one college established in pursuance of the act of July second, eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and also in which an educational institution of like character has been established, or may be hereafter established, and is now aided by such State from its own revenue, for the education of colored students in agriculture and the mechanic arts, however named or styled, or whether or not it has received money heretofore under the act to which this is an amendment, the Legislature of such State may propose and report to the Secretary of the Interior a just and equitable division of the fund to be received under this act between one college for white students and one institution for colored students established as aforesaid, which shall be divided into two parts and paid accordingly, and thereupon such institution for colored students shall be entitled to the benefits of this act subject to its provisions, as much as it would have been if it had been included under the act of eighteen hundred and sixty-two, and the fulfillment of the foregoing provisions shall be taken as a compliance with the provision in reference to separate colleges for white and colored students.''

The Legislature of Tennessee in an act approved July 6, 1911, has provided that the funds received by the State of Tennessee shall be divided between the University of Tennessee, at Knoxville, and the Agricultural and Industrial School for Negroes, at Nashville. This institution for colored students has recently been established by the State and will open for instruction in September, 1912. The division of the funds provided by the acts of Congress of August 30, 1890, and March 4, 1907, is to be based upon the scholastic population of colored children and white children of the State, the funds to be divided in proportion to the number of children of each race. At present the entire Federal appropriation is given to the University of Tennessee. The industrial department of Knoxville College is under the supervision of the university, and colored students desiring education in agriculture, domestic science, and the trades and industries are sent to Knoxville College. About 23 per cent of the total amount received from the Federal Government by the university is expended in maintaining the industrial department at Knoxville College.

During the past year there has been marked activity in the agricultural and mechanical colleges in reorganization of their work for the preparation of special teachers of agriculture, mechanic arts, and household science.

OFFICE OF THE RECORDER OF DEEDS.

Hon. Henry Lincoln Johnson, of Georgia, the present Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia, is a colored man and was appointed by President Taft in 1909.

During the past fiscal year, 26,137 instruments, exclusive of incorporation papers, were filed for record, which number, being 901 in excess of the number recorded during the fiscal year 1911, the previous largest year in the history of the office established a new record. Four hundred and twenty-nine incorporation papers were filed for record. The sum of $2,615 was collected from 85 corporations. This was an increase of $595 over the previous year. The total receipts of the Office for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1912, were $45,988.55, which exceeded by $2,550.75 those collected during the previous fiscal year, when they reached the highest mark in the history of the Office, the year just closed being the largest both in the number of papers filed for record and in amount of its receipts. The fiscal year of 1912 established still another record, the amount of its unexpended revenues deposited in the United States Treasury at its close being $12,851.60, which amount was $3,768.73 in excess of the unexpended balance of the previous year. The total amount paid to salaried employees and copyists during the year was $29,890.37 and of this amount the 23 Afro-American employees received $18,545.52.

BROWNSVILLE SOLDIER GIVEN PLACE BY TAFT.

Mingo Sanders, Former First Sergeant of Co. B., 25th Infantry, Who was Discharged Without Honor by President Roosevelt Appointed Messenger by the President.

By an executive order of President Taft, Mingo Sanders, who was first sergeant of Company B of the Twenty-fifth infantry one of the colored regiments, discharged from the army without honor for alleged participation in the Brownsville riots became a messenger in the classified service on August 3, 1912 and went to work in the Interior Department at $70 per month. When Sanders was discharged he had served twenty-nine years and after another years service he would have been entitled to retirement at two-thirds pay and allowances. Representative Rodenburg, of Illinois, who has taken great interest in Sanders' welfare, will introduce a bill in the House to reinstate him in the army and permit his retirement at once. Later Mr. Rodenburg will introduce a bill for the reinstatement of all the innocent soldiers discharged for alleged participation in the ''shooting up'' of Brownsville.

THE FREEDMEN'S HOSPITAL.

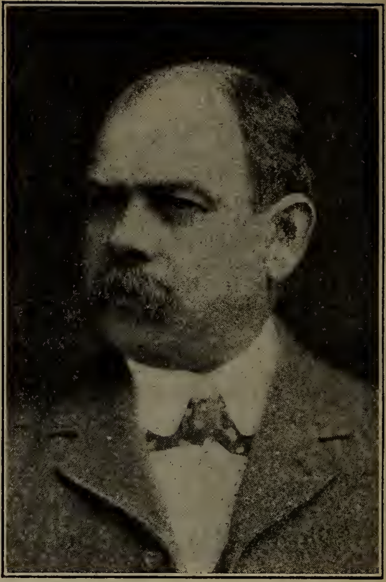
The Freedmen's Hospital was established by the Act of March 3, 1865, as a war necessity for the Freedmen and Refugees who followed the Grand Army to Washington, vaguely expecting the Government would provide for them. It was little more than an asylum for army years until the sundry civil act of March 3, 1903, provision was made for the construction of a new Freedmen's Hospital which has cost $600,000.

It is managed by a staff of 91 employees, all of whom are covered by the Civil Service Law.

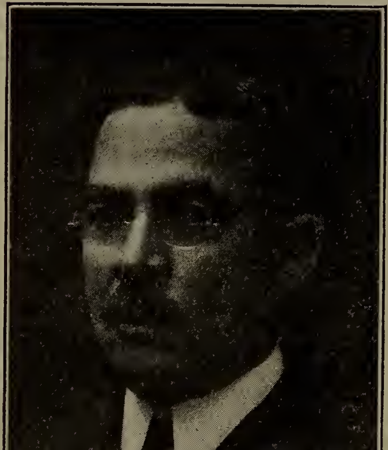
The present organization was effected July 1, 1898, and revised September 18, 1909, and has proved a most satisfactory one. The Surgeon-in-Chief, Dr. William A. Warfield, has made an excellent record not only as a skillful surgeon, but an efficient manager of the business affairs. The visiting Staff is composed of 56 of the leading physicians and surgeons in the city, 23 of whom are Colored and 33 White.

Some idea of the amount of medical and surgical work done in the hospital may be had from a review of the report of the fiscal year ended June 30, 1911. It will be seen that 2,900 patients were treated in the hospital, and 4,838 in the dispensary. 248 births occurred and 1,768 operations were performed and 983 emergencies. The 91 Afro-American employees receive $24,960 in annual salaries.

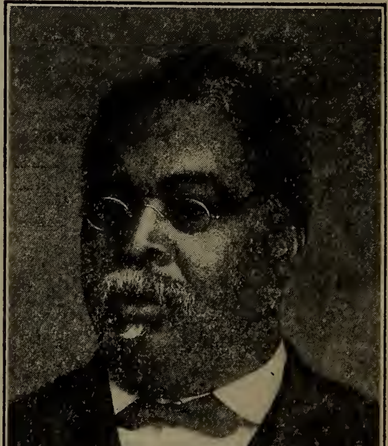
HON. CHARLES W. ANDERSON
Collector of Internal Revenue; New York City.



HON. WILLIAM D. CRUM
Minister Resident and Consul General to Liberia.



HON. WHITEFIELD McKINLAY
Collector of Customs, at Washington, D. C.



HON. ROBERT SMALLS
Collector of Customs, Beaufort, S. C.

THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

Aids Colored Farmers by Conducting Demonstrations in Raising Various Crops. Has 266 Afro-American Employees with Total Annual Compensation of $143,034.

The Department of Agriculture has in the City of Washington, one hundred and sixty-four colored employees with an aggregate compensation of $89,816.95. Outside of Washington the Department has one hundred and two colored employees with a total compensation of $53,217.50. This is a total of two hundred and sixty-six colored employees in the Department of Agriculture, with a total compensation of $143,034.45.

In connection with the Farmer's Cooperative Demonstration Work in the South the Bureau of Plant Industry of the Department of Agriculture employees a number of colored agents, who are doing very successful and efficient work. There are now fifteen regular agents employed in connection with this work, who are paid salaries ranging from $25 to $100 per month. These agents are carrying on regular farm demonstrations with farmers in the communities where they are employed, conducting demonstrations in the raising of cotton, corn, and other crops, and generally fostering and encouraging better farming and better living on the part of the Afro-American farmers.

Closely identified with the work of the Department is that conducted through the aid of funds secured from the General Education Board. Twenty-one agents are employed in this work at salaries ranging from $25 to $100 per month. This work is practically an extension of the Government work in localities where the Government agents are not employed. All the agents paid from the General Education Board fund are appointed as Collaborators of the Department of Agriculture.

The following is a list of the names and locations of some of the agents and collaborators:

J. Russell Council, Boley, Okla.; A. W. Beck, Mound Bayou, Miss.; M. A. Jones, Indianola, Miss.; T. M. Campbell, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; J. B. McPherson, Wedowee, Ala.; C. D. Menafee, Opelika, Ala.; T. J. Murray, Fort Davis, Ala.; G. W. Patterson, Huntsville, Ala.; Harry Simms, Snow Hill, Ala.; W. A. Tate, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.; C. F. Robinson, Tallahassee, Fla.; J. A. Booker, Fort Valley, Ga.; P. D. Johnson, Covington, Ga.; Ralph Amos, Meto, Ark.; Clifford Dove, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

There are also a number of other collaborators who are paid nominal salaries in order to give them official connection with the Department Collaborators; J. A. Bates, Orangeburg, S. C.; J. E. Blanton, Frogmore, S. C.; J. H. Goodwin, Weston, S. C.; E. D. Jenkins, Denmark, S. C.; C. W. Jones, Greenville, S. C.; H. S. Murphy, Camden, S. C.; R. W. Westberry, Sumter, S. C.; N. A. Bailey, Greensboro, N. C.; C. S. Mitchell, Parmele, N. C.; Mattie Holmes, Phoebus, Va., J. W. Lancaster, Farmville, Va.; R. D. Lemon, Sassafras, Va.; G. E. Oliver, Crewe, Va.; A. W. Pegram, Carson, Va.; J. B. Pierce, Wellville, Va.; C. C. H. Thompson, Blackstone, Va.; R. E. F. Washington, Roxbury, Va.; J. F. Wilson, Keysville, Va.; R. L. Wynu, Wellville, Va.; W. G. Young, Upper Zion, Va.; Annie Peters, Boley, Okla.

The Agony of Spirit Hard to Bear.

Now, with reference to the race question and race feeling in the South, I have this conviction, that we have made great progress in 40 years. The work to this point has been hard and heart-rending, and, at times, the agony of spirit has been very hard to bear, but as you look back over the last 50 years, as any one looks back over your history during that period the progress that has been made is marked.

* * * * * * * * * * * * *

Now my friends, I want to extend to you my earnest feeling of sympathy in your struggle onward and upward.—President Taft to Afro-American Citizens of New Orleans.

The election of Taft and Sherman means continued prosperity for all the people.

AFRO-AMERICAN POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

It is Now 9,827,763, an Increase of 11.2 Per Cent Since 1900. There are 893,384 Farmers, an Increase of 19.6 Per Cent 1,619,699 Children Attending School. Per Cent Illiterate 30.4.

The table headed "Afro-Americans in the United States" is based upon the preliminary results of the census of 1910. in comparison in general with the figures for 1910. The distribution of Negroes according to black and mulatto is given for 1910, in comparison with similar results derived from the returns of the censuses of 1890 and 1870. It will be seen that the mulatto population has increased from 12 per cent in 1870 to 20.9 per cent in 1910. There are 893,384 colored farmers, an increase of 146,620 or 19.6 per cent since 1900. The total Afro-American population of the United States according to the census of 1910 is 9,827,763. There are 2,458,873 males 21 years or over. The increase in males of voting age has been 19.3 per cent in the decade. The per cent of illiterate has been reduced from 44.5 in 1900 to 30.4 in 1910.

FARMS OF COLORED FARMERS.

In the Southern States. Of 893,384 Afro-American Farmers in the Country 880,837 are in the South. Total Value of Farms $900,132,334.

There has been an enormous increase in the value of the farms (land and buildings), owned by the 880,837 Afro-American farmers in the Southern States. In 1900 the value was $380,280,968. According to the Census of 1910 it had increased to $900,132,334, or 136.7 per cent! (The total includes the farms of 9,219 Indians, 24 Chinese, and 61 Japanese in addition to the farms of 880,837 Afro-Americans).

	1910	1900	Increase 1900 to 1910.	Per cent of Increase
Total number of farms..	890.141	740,670	149,471	20.2
Farms of owners...........	218.467	186,676	31,791	17.0
Farms of managers........	1,200	1,593	-393	-24.7
Farms of tenants..........	670.474	552,401	118,073	21.4
Total farm acreage.....	42,609,117	38,612,046	3,997,071	10.4
Farms of owners...........	15,691,536	13,358,684	2,332,852	17.5
Farms of managers........	349,779	428,518	-78,739	-18.4
Farms of tenants...........	26,567,802	24,824,844	1,742,958	7.0
Total value of farms.... (land and buildings)..	$900,132,334	$380,280,968	$519,851.366	136.7
Farms of owners...........	272,992,238	106,619,328	166.372,910	156.0
Farms of managers.........	10.371,949	5,544,310	4,827.639	87.1
Farms of tenants..........	616,768,147	268,117,330	348,650.817	130.0

(A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.)

Afro-Americans in the Larger Cities.

There are eight of the larger cities in each of which there are more than 25,000 Afro-Americans and in three of them they constitute a considerable proportion of the total population. Of the cities named, Washington, with 94,446 Afro-Americans has the largest proportion, 28.5 per cent; New Orleans, with 89,262 Afro-Americans, the second largest, 26.3 per cent; and Baltimore, with 84,749 Afro-Americans, the third largest proportion, 15.2 per cent. New York has 91,709 Afro-Americans, almost as many as in Washington and more than in New Orleans, but of its total population the Afro-Americans constitute only 1.9 per cent. Philadelphia has 84,459 Afro-Americans, or 5.5 of its total population; Chicago 44,103 Afro-Americans, or 2 per cent; St. Louis 43,960 Afro-Americans, or 6.4 per cent; and Pittsburgh 25,623 Afro-Americans, or 4.8 per cent. In Detroit there are 5,741 Afro-Americans; Buffalo, 1,773; San Francisco, 1,642; Milwaukee, 980; Cincinnati, 19,639; Newark, 9,475; St. Louis, 43,960; Boston, 13,564; Cleveland, 8,448; Los Angeles, 7,599; Minneapolis, 2,928; Jersey City, 5,960.

AFRO-AMERICANS IN THE UNITED STATES.

	Total Number		*Increase, 1900-1910	
	1910	1900	Number	Per cent
Afro-Americans				
Total number	9,827,763	8,833,994	993,769	11.2
Males 21 years of age or over.	2,458,873	2,060,302	398,571	19.3
Afro-American Farmers:				
Total number	893,384	746,764	146,620	19.6
Afro-Americans 10 years of age or over:				
Total number	7,318,502	6,415,581	902,921	14.1
Number illiterate	2,228,087	2,853,194	-625,107	-28.1
Per cent illiterate..........	30.4	44.5	....	....
Afro-Americans 6 to 20 years of age, inclusive:				
Total number	3,422,157	....	....	....
Number attending school....	1,619,699	....	....	....
Per cent attending school..	47.3	....	....	....
Afro-Americans 6 to 9 years of age, inclusive:.				
Total number	990,850	....	....	....
Number attending school....	488,954	....	....	....
Per cent attending school..	49.3	....	....	....
Afro-Americans 10 to 14 years of age, inclusive				
Total number	1,155,266	1,091,990	63,276	5.8
Number attending school....	791,995	587,560	204,435	34.8
Per cent attending school....	68.6	53.8	....	....
Afro-Americans 15 to 20 years of age, inclusive:				
Total number	1,276,041	1,204,439	71,602	5.9
Number attending school....	338,750	211,172	127,578	60.4
Per cent attending school...	26.5	17.5	....	....

* A minus sign (-) denotes decrease.

	1910	1890	1870
Afro-Americans:			
Total number	9,827,763	**7,488,676	4,880,009
Black	7,777,077	6,337,980	4,295,960
Mulatto	2,050,686	1,132,060	584,049
Per cent mulatto	20.9	15.2	12.0

**Includes 18,636 Negroes in Indian Territory not distinguished as black or mulatto.

The Post Office Department.

There are 3,957 Afro-Americans serving the government under the Post Office Department and their annual salaries aggregate $3,099,907. Among these are included postmasters, assistant postmasters, clerks, letter carriers, rural mail carriers and railway mail clerks. There are 280 Afro-American postmasters. Among the presidential offices are: Mary A. Booze, Mound Bayou, Miss.; George W. Reed, Beaufort, S. C.; William L. Jones, Boley, Okla.; J. B. Washington, Tuskegee Institute, Ala.

The Patent Office.

One of the most expert examiners in the Patent Office is an Afro-American, Henry E. Baker of Mississippi, who draws a salary of $2,100 per annum. Mr. Baker has been an examiner for 24 years. He has recently made a research of the office and has been able to trace more than 1,000 patents granted to Afro-Americans.

MALES OF VOTING AGE FOR STATES AND PRINCIPAL CITIES.

The potential voting strength of each state and city is expressed by the number of its males 21 years of age and over, excluding the foreign born who have not become naturalized, but by this is not meant the actual number of voters. It represents, rather the number of males who from the standpoint of age alone are eligible to vote, aside from any qualifications based upon educations, length of residence, or considerations of a like nature imposed by the national or state government.

There are in all 229 cities which had in 1910 more than 25.000 inhabitants, with an aggregate population of 28,543,816. These cities together contained in 1910, a total of 9,004,422 males of voting age, or 31.5 per cent of their combined population. For continental United States as a whole, males of voting age numbered 26,999,151 and constituted 29.4 per cent of the entire population (91,972,266) in 1910.

The total number of Afro-American males of voting age in the United States in 1910, was 2,459,327 or 9.1 per cent. Many of these voters in the Southern Democratic States are practically disfranchised and debarred from voting.

In the following table the number of Afro-Americans is given in each state and also for each city having a population exceeding 25.000, in which there are 500 or more Afro-American males of voting age. The figures are from Census of 1910, and of course the actual number of Afro-Americans of voting age is greater now than it was two years ago when the census was taken.

MALES OF VOTING AGE FOR STATES AND PRINCIPAL CITIES.

States and Cities.	Total Males 21 and over	Afro-Americans
ALABAMA	513,111	213,923
Birmingham	40,699	16,441
Mobile	15,014	6,578
Montgomery	10,789	4,988
ARKANSAS	395,824	111,365
Little Rock	14,801	4,592
CALIFORNIA	920,397	8,143
Los Angeles	114,889	2.571
Oakland	53.967	1,238
San Francisco	175,951	831
COLORADO	271.648	4.283
Denver	71.990	1.999
Pueblo	16.814	581
CONNECTICUT	247.692	4,765
Hartford	31,121	501
New Haven	40,510	1.191
DELAWARE	61,887	9,050
Wilmington	27,519	2,981
DIS. of COL. and Washington. coextensive	103.761	27,621
FLORIDA	214,195	89.659
Jacksonville	19,392	9,652
Tampa	11,691	2.926
GEORGIA	620,616	266,814
Atlanta	44.510	13.865
Augusta	11.949	5.067
Macon	11,647	4.988
Savannah	19.557	9.962
ILLINOIS	1.743.182	39,983
Chicago	700,590	17,845
Danville	8,514	526
Peoria	23,054	644
East St. Louis	21,005	2,286
Quincy	11.388	555
Springfield	16,090	1,021

MALES OF VOTING AGE FOR STATES AND PRINCIPAL CITIES.

(Continued.)

States and Cities.	Total Males 21 and over	Afro-Americans
INDIANA	822,434	20,651
Evansville	21,443	2,242
Indianapolis	76,743	7,556
Terre Haute	18,609	906
IOWA	663,672	5,528
Des Moines	27,359	1,043
KANSAS	508,529	17,931
Kansas City	26,562	3,088
Topeka	13,977	1,364
Wichita	17,788	895
KENTUCKY	603,454	75,694
Covington	15,585	361
Lexington	11,081	3,379
Louisville	67,676	13,687
LOUISIANA	414,919	174,211
New Orleans	96,997	25,269
Shreveport	8,635	3,704
MAINE	235,727	476
MARYLAND	367,908	63,963
Baltimore	163,554	26,214
MASSACHUSETTS	1,021,669	12,591
Boston	208,321	5,070
Cambridge	30,262	1,384
New Bedford	28,263	934
MICHIGAN	870,876	6,266
Detroit	150,017	2,224
MINNESOTA	642,669	3,390
Minneapolis	105,305	1,227
Saint Paul	72,073	1,573
MISSOURI	973,062	52,921
Kansas	87,457	9,101
St. Joseph	26,051	1,598
St. Louis	221,913	16,381
Springfield	10,516	583
MONTANA	155,017	851
NEBRASKA	353,626	3,225
Omaha	43,216	1,885
NEW HAMPSHIRE	136,668	200
NEW JERSEY	774,202	28,601
Atlantic City	15,626	3,756
Camden	28,826	1,945
Jersey City	80,866	2,104
Newark	103,234	3,015
Orange	8,493	720
Trenton	31,203	1,124
NEW YORK	2,836,773	45,877
Buffalo	128,133	740
New York	1,433,749	30,855
Manhattan bouough	727,555	21,279
Bronx borough	126,935	1,269
Queens borough	82,373	959
Brooklyn borough	470,386	7,011
Yonkers	23,533	501
NORTH CAROLINA	506,134	146,752
Charlotte	9,025	2,801
Wilmington	7,129	3,066

MALES OF VOTING AGE FOR STATES AND PRINCIPAL CITIES.

(Continued.)

States and Cities.	Total Males 21 and over	Afro-Americans
OHIO	1.484.265	39.188
Cincinnati	113,919	7,387
Cleveland	177,386	3,298
Columbus	60.892	5.028
Dayton	38.236	1,781
Youngstown	28,157	785
Springfield	15.361	1,735
Toledo	52.748	719
OKLAHOMA	447.266	36,841
Muskogee	8.808	2,461
Oklahoma City	24.736	2,392
OREGON	257,188	792
Portland	88.908	525
PENNSYLVANIA	2.309.026	64.272
Chester	12.336	1.615
Harrisburg	20.171	1,550
Philadelphia	468.813	28.120
Pittsburgh	166.424	9.362
RHODE ISLAND	163.834	3,067
Providence	68.983	1,765
SOUTH CAROLINA	335.046	169.155
Charleston	16.107	7,881
Columbia	7.605	3,076
TENNESSEE	552.668	119,142
Chattanooga	14.299	5,700
Knoxville	10.591	2.297
Memphis	44.309	17.238
Nashville	30.774	9.713
TEXAS	1.003.357	166.398
Austin	8.612	1.929
Dallas	29.864	5,830
Fort Worth	25.193	4.513
Galveston	12.753	2.654
Houston	25.935	7.240
San Antonio	27.979	2.917
Waco	7,375	1,636
UTAH	104.115	568
VIRGINIA	523,532	159,593
Lynchburg	7.848	2.232
Norfolk	20.907	7.864
Portsmouth	10.623	3.394
Richmond	37.204	13.279
Roanoke	10.144	2.068
WASHINGTON	441.294	3.120
Seattle	101.685	1.204
WEST VIRGINIA	338.349	22.757
Huntington	9.349	752
Wheeling	12.822	461
WISCONSIN	638.743	1.082

Senator Ben Tillman in an open letter dated August 31. resents the oft-repeated assertion that in South Carolina. Bleaseism is Tillmanism. Says the Senator: ''Tillmanism means genuine democracy. the rule of the people—of all the white people—rich and poor alike. with special privileges and favors to none. with equality of opportunity and equality of burden to all. Tillmanism is noble, high and elevating. Bleaseism is selfish. low. dirty and revengeful.

COLORED FARMERS' COTTON PRODUCTION.

Special Tabulation Showing the Acres and Bales of Cotton by States and by Colored and White Farmers.

Cotton is the great staple product of the Southern States. That the Afro-American farmers are holding their own in cotton production is shown by the following special tabulation giving acres and bales of cotton by states and by white and colored farmers, as reported to the Census of 1910 but representing the production for the calendar year 1909. The totals include 105,507 acres and 58,377 bales not distributed between white and colored farmers.

State.	Total.		White farmers.		Colored farmers.	
	Acres harvested.	Running bales.	Acres harvested.	Running bales.	Acres harvested.	Running bales.
United States	32,043,838	10,649,268	19,844,630	6,526,391	12,093,701	4,064,500
Alabama	3,730,482	1,129,527	1,769,773	619,062	1,960,709	510,465
Arizona	19	11	....	....	....	....
Arkansas	2,153,222	776,879	1,203,488	428,244	949,734	348,635
California	324	183	....	....	....	....
Florida	263,454	65,056	141,549	36,732	121,905	28,324
Georgia	4,883,304	1,992,408	2,415,062	1,065,246	2,468,242	927,162
Kansas	36	10	....	....	....	....
Kentucky	7,811	3,469	....	....	....	....
Louisiana	957,011	268,909	442,659	127,027	514,352	141,882
Mississippi	3,400,210	1,127,156	1,137,044	399,160	2,263,166	727,996
Missouri	96,527	54,498	....	....	....	....
New Mexico	790	206	....	....	....	....
North Carolina	1,274.404	665,132	799,515	432,596	474,889	232,536
Oklahoma	1,976,935	555,742	1,759,704	485,004	217,231	70,738
South Carolina	2,556,467	1,279,866	1,192,092	666,913	1,364,375	612,953
Tennessee	787,516	264,562	399,989	147,688	387,527	116,874
Texas	9,930,179	2,455,174	8,571,970	2,113,290	1,358,209	341,884
Virginia	25,147	10,480	11,785	5,429	13,362	5,051

THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.

Afro-American Race Well Represented in the World's Greatest Printing Establishment. 634 Colored Employees Receive $434,856 in Annual Salaries.

The Government Printing Office is the largest printing establishment in the world. The cost of the land on which its buildings are located was $345,000; the cost of its buildings was $2,824,000; and the cost of the machinery was $2,306,255. The value of the material and illustrations consumed during the fiscal year 1911 was $2,050,296. The total charges for the printing and binding produced by the Government Printing Office during the fiscal year 1911, were $6,307,762. The average number of employees during the fiscal year 1911 was 3,990. The aggregate annual salaries and wages of officials and employees during the fiscal year 1911 were $4,302,283.

Statement of Afro-Americans Employed in the Government Printing Office on July 1, 1912, With Designations, Etc.

Classified Service.

Assistant doorkeeper	1
Caster helpers	24
Clerks	3
Compositors	11
Counter in charge	1
Counters	3
Electrotype molder-apprentice	1
Elevator conductors	24
Firemen	2
Folders	11
Helpers	30
Messengers	6
Monotpye keyboard operators	3
Officeman	1
Oilers	4
Pressfeeders	9
Pressman	1
Skilled laborers (male)	208
Skilled laborers (female)	15
Watchman	1
Total	359

Unclassified Service.

Charwomen	6
Chauffeurs	5
Drivers	5
Laborers	9
Stablemen	3
Unskilled laborers	247
Total	275

SUMMARY.

Classified employees	359
Unclassified employees	275
Total	634

The annual salaries paid above employees $434,856.

There are 67 regular letter carriers in the New Orleans, La., Post Office. Their salaries aggregate $70,200 a year.

THE COMMISSION TO LIBERIA.

In 1909, President Taft Appointed a Commission to Go to Liberia for the Purpose of Investigating Conditions There and Aiding the Negro Republic. Emmett J. Scott, an Afro-American, was one of the Commissioners. Great Good Accomplished by the Visit.

On April 24, 1909, the Commission to Liberia, appointed by President Taft, to visit Liberia and investigate conditions in the little Republic, sailed for Monrovia on the scout cruisers Chester and Birmingham. On the Chester were the Commissioners. Mr. Roland P. Falkner, chairman of the Commission, Messrs. Emmett J. Scott, George Sale, members; and Mr. George A. Finch, Secretary; while the Birmingham carried Major Percy M. Ashburn, United States Army, Medical Attache to the Commission, and Mr. Frank A. Flower, naturalist and scientific attache.

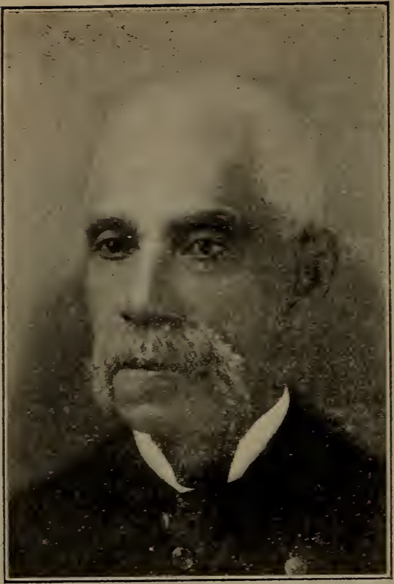
In 1908 a Special Commission from the Republic of Liberia visited the United States and represented to our Government that Liberia was in need of assistance in maintaining her independence and integrity as a Nation. They asked that the United States guarantee their territorial and political integrity, which, of course, as Secretary Root informed them, was impracticable on our part. The United States was then asked to loan to Liberia suitable and competent officers to aid them in the conduct of the administration of their country, and to confer with the representatives of other Governments having interests on the West Coast of Africa, and whose territory bordered on Liberia. Congress authorized the appointment of a commission and appropriated $20,000 for the payment of the expenses thereof. Secretary Root suggested that a suitable vessel of the United States Navy be designated to transport the Commission to and from Liberia, but, as the Commission appointed by President Taft, was larger in numbers than the one originally recommended, it was decided that the scout cruisers Chester and Birmingham were to have the honor of carrying the distinguished representatives of our country. The Chester bearing the Commission, arrived at Monrovia, May 8th, while the Birmingham with the Medical and Military Attaches, did not drop anchor until May 13th. The Commissioners met with a cordial and enthusiastic reception from the Liberians.

During the month of May the Commissioners were busy with their duties, visiting various parts of the country and hearing testimony and evidence brought before them for their consideration. On May 29th, the Commissioners having completed their labors at Monrovia, separated and boarded the vessels once more. The Chester, with Mr. Falkner, Captain Cloman and Major Ashburn, sailed for Freetown, Sierra Leone, from which place these members of the Commission went to inspect the northern boundary line of Liberia, and the Birmingham with the remaining members, sailed for Grand Bassa, Liberia. The vessel only remained there for twenty-four hours and then proceeded to Cape Palmas and the River Cavalla which is the southern boundary of Liberia. The Commissioners ascended the River Cavalla for some distance and examined the boundary line of Liberia and French Guinea, and on June 4th, their labors having been completed, they boarded the Birmingham and returned to Liberia. Here the American Minister, Dr. Lyon, who had accompanied the Commissioners on their tour of the southern Liberian counties, disembarked, and the Birmingham said good bye to Monrovia. The cruiser proceeded to Freetown June 8th, and sailed via the Canary Islands and the Azores where short stops were made, and reached Newport, R. I., July 2nd.

As one of the results of the visit of the Liberian Commission, Reed Paige Clark was appointed General Receiver of Liberian Customs by the State Department, at the suggestion of President Taft. Mr. Clark was in London in May and arranged the details of a loan agreement which will supply Liberia with sufficient funds to place her finances on a sound basis.

Captain Charles Young, 9th Cavalry, was detailed by direction of the Secretary of War, in December, 1911, to obtain military information from abroad under provisions of an act of Congress approved Feb. 27, 1893, and was ordered to Monrovia, Liberia, to report to the American Minister at that capital for such service. Captain Young is the only Afro-American graduate of West Point in the United States Army.

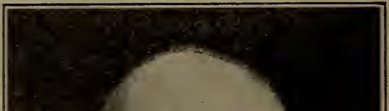
All of the letter carriers at the Clarksville, Tennessee, Post Office are Afro-Americans.



LIEUT. COL. A. ALLENSWORTH
United States Army (Retired)

MAJOR JOHN R. LYNCH
United States Army (Retired)

HON. HERBERT R. WRIGHT
U. S. Consul, Puerto Cabello, Venezuela.



HON. ROBERT H. TERRELL
Judge Municipal Court of the District of Columbia.

ELECTION LAWS OF DEMOCRATIC SOUTHERN STATES.

The following are sections of some of the election laws of the South (certified to by the Secretaries of State, in each case,) many of them enacted for the avowed purpose of depriving Afro-American citizens of the right to vote. It will be seen that the Louisiana and North Carolina laws are especially framed for the purpose of making the educational test apply only to the Afro-Americans, and all persons who were voters prior to January 1, 1867, and their lineal descendants are exempt from the provisions of the law, which disqualifies persons because of illiteracy. The laws are skillfully worded and may appear fair, but in practice the registrars have practically unlimited power and in many cases prevent qualified colored voters from exercising the right of franchise.

In this connection it is a remarkable fact that no body of Republican legislators has ever enacted a single law intended to disfranchise any citizen on account of his race or color.

Democratic Governor Donaghey of Arkansas, celebrated Independence Day this year, by issuing a proclamation advocating the passage of a ''grand-father clause'' amendment to the Constitution of that State. In this remarkable statement Gov. Donaghey acknowledges that 100,000 colored men in Arkansas have the legal right to vote but in many instances have been prevented from exercising their rights by the process of intimidation.'' Gov. Donaghey's statement follows the excerpts from the election laws of the South.

Alabama.

1st Those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language, and who are physically unable to work; and those who can read and write any article of the Constitution of the United States in the English language and who have worked and have been regularly engaged in some lawful employment, business or occupation, trade or calling for the greater part of the twelve months next preceding the time they offer to register, and those who are unable to read and write, if such inability is due solely to physical disability; or,

2nd. The owner in good faith in his own right, or the husband of a woman who is the owner in good faith in her own right, of forty acres of land situate in this State, upon which they reside; or the owner in good faith in his own right or the husband of any woman who is the owner in good faith in her own right of any real estate situate in the State assessed for taxation at the value of three hundred dollars or more, or the owner in good faith in his own right or the husband of any woman who is the owner in good faith of her own right of personal property in this State assessed at taxation at three hundred dollars or more; provided that the taxes due upon such real estate or personal property for the year next preceding the year for which he offers to register shall have been paid unless the assessment shall have been legally contested and is undetermined.

Georgia.

Section 1. Elections by the people shall be by ballot, and only those persons shall be allowed to vote who have first been registered in accordance with the requirements of law.

"Par. 2. Every male citizen of the State who is a citizen of the United States, twenty-one years old or upwards, not laboring under any of the disabilities named in this article, and possessing the qualifications provided by it, shall be an elector and entitled to register and vote at any election by the people; provided, that no soldier, sailor, or marine in the military or naval service of the United States shall acquire the rights of an elector by reason of being stationed on duty in this State.

"Par. 3. To entitle a person to register and vote at any election by the people he shall have resided in the State one year next preceding the election, and in the county in which he offers to vote six months next preceding the election, and shall have paid all taxes which may have been required of him since the adoption of the Constitution of Georgia of 1877, that he may have had an opportunity of paying agreeably to law. Such payment must have been made at least six months prior to the election at which he offers to vote, except when such elections are held within six months from the expiration of the time fixed by law for the payment of such taxes.

"Par. 4. Every male citizen of this State shall be entitled to register as an elector and to vote at all elections of said State who is not disqualified under the provisions of section 2 of article 2 of this Constitution, and who possesses the qualifications prescribed in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this section or who will possess them at the date of the election occuring next after his registration, and who in addition thereto, comes within either of the classes provided for in the five following subdivisions of this paragraph.

"1. All persons who have honorably served in the land or naval forces of the United States in the Revolutionary war, or the war of 1812, or in the war with Mexico, or in any war with the Indians or in the war between the States, or in the war with Spain, or who honorably served in the land or naval forces of the Confederate States, of the State of Georgia in the war between the States; or,

"2. All persons lawfully descended from those embraced in the sub-division next above, or,

"3. All persons who are of good character, and understand the duties and obligations of citizenship under a republican form of government, or,

"4. All persons who can correctly read in the English language any paragraph of the Constitution of the United States or of this State, and correctly write the same in the English language when read to him by any one of the registrars, and all persons who, solely because of physical disability, are unable to comply with the above requirements, but who can understand and give reasonable interpretation of any paragraph of the Constitution of the United States or of this State, that may be read to them by one of the registrars, or,

"5. Any person who is the owner in good faith in his own right of at least forty acres of land situated in this State, upon which he resides, or is the owner in good faith in his own right, of property situated in this State and assessed for taxation at the value of five hundred dollars."

"Par. 5. The right to register under sub-divisions 1 and 2 of paragraph 4 shall continue only until January 1, 1915. But the registrars shall prepare a roster of all persons who register under sub-divisions 1 and 2 of paragraph 4, and shall return the same to the Clerk's office of the Superior Court of their counties and the Clerks of the Superior Court shall send copies of the same to the Secretary of State, and it shall be the duty of these officers to record and permanently preserve these rosters. Any person who has been once registered under either of the sub-divisions 1 or 2 of paragraph 4 shall thereafter be permitted to vote, provided, he meets the requirements of paragraphs 2 and 3 of this section.

"Par. 6. Any person to whom the right of registration is denied by the registrars on the ground that he lacks the qualifications set forth in the five sub-divisions of paragraph 4, shall have the right to take an appeal, and any citizens may enter an appeal from the decision of the registrars allowing any person to register under said sub-divisions. All appeals must be filed in writing with the registrars within ten days from the date of the decision complained of and shall be returned by the registrars to the office of the Clerk of the Superior Court to be tried as other appeals.

"Par. 7. Pending an appeal and until the final decision of the case, the judgment of the registrars shall remain in full force.

"Par. 8. No person shall be allowed to participate in a primary of any political party or a convention of any political party in the State who is not a qualified voter.

Louisiana.

"Section 3. He (the voter) shall be able to read and write, and shall demonstrate his ability to do so when he applies for registration, by making, under oath administered by the registration officer or his deputy, written application therefor, in the English Language or his mother tongue, which application shall contain the essential facts necessary to show that he is entitled to register and vote, and shall be entirely written, dated and signed by him, in the presence of the registration officer or his deputy, without assistance or suggestion from any person or memorandum whatever, except the form of application hereinafter set forth.

"Section 5. No male person who was on January 1st 1867, or at any date prior thereto, entitled to vote under the Constitution or statutes of any State of the United States, wherein he then resided, and no son or grandson of any such person not less than twenty-one years of age at the date of the adoption of this Constitution, and no male person of foreign birth, who was naturalized prior to the first day of January, 1885, shall be denied the right to register and vote in this State by reason of his failure to possess the educational or property qualifications prescribed by this Constitution: provided, he shall have resided in this State for five years next preceding the date at which he shall apply for registration, and shall have registered in accordance with the terms of this article prior to September 1st, 1898, and no person shall be entitled to register under this section ofter that date."

Mississippi.

"Section 244. On and after the first day of January, 1892, every elector shall, in addition to the foregoing qualifications, be able to read any section of the Constitution of this State; or he shall be able to understand the same when read to him, or to give a reasonable interpretation thereof."

North Carolina.

"Art. VI-Sec. 4. Every person presenting himself for registration shall be able to read and write any section of the Constitution in the English Language, and shall show to the satisfaction of the registrar his ability to read and write any such section when he applies for registration, and before he is registered: provided, however, that no male person who was on January first, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, or any time prior thereto, entitled to vote under the laws of any State in the United States where he then resided, and no lineal descendant of such person, shall be denied the right to register and vote at any election in this State by reason of his failure to possess the educational qualifications aforesaid: Provided, that it shall be made to appear to the registrar that he or his ancestor was entitled to vote prior to January first, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-seven, in any state in the United States, as prescribed by article six, section four, of the constitution, and such person, if otherwise qualified, shall be registered, and no registrar shall have the right to inquire whether such person can read or write."

South Carolina.

"Section 174. Every male citizen of this State and of the United States, twenty-one years of age and upwards, not laboring under disabilities named in the Constitution of 1895 of this State, and who shall have been a resident of the State for two years, in the county one year, in the polling precinct in which the elector offers to vote four months before any election, and shall have paid six months before any election any poll tax then due and payable, and who can read and write any section of the said Constitution submitted to him by the registration officers, or can show that he owns and has paid all taxes collectible due the previous year on property in the State assessed at $300 or more and who shall apply for registration shall be registered.

Virginia.

"Sec. 20. After the first day of January, nineteen hundred and four, every male citizen of the United States, having the qualifications of age and residence required in section Eighteen, shall be entitled to register, provided:

"First. That he has personally paid to the proper officer all State poll taxes assessed or assessable against him, under this or the former Constitution, for the three years next preceding that in which he offers to register; or, if he come of age at such time that no poll tax shall have been assessable against him for the year preceding the year in which he offers to register, has paid one dollar and fifty cents, in satisfaction of the first year's poll tax assessable against him; or,

"Second. That, unless physically unable, he makes application to register in his own hand writing, without aid, suggestion, or memorandum, in the presence of the registration officers, stating therein his name, age, date and place of birth, residence and occupation at the time and for the two years next preceding, and whether he has previously voted, and, if so, the State, County, and precinct in which he voted last, and,

"Third. That he answer on oath any and all questions affecting his qualifications as an elector, submitted to him by the officers of registration, which questions, and his answers thereto, shall be reduced to writing, certified by the said officers, and preserved as a part of their official records.

"Sec. 21. Any person registered under either of the last two sections, shall have the right to vote for members of the General Assembly and all officers elective by the people, subject to the following conditions:

"That he, unless exempted by section Twenty-one, shall, as a prerequisite to the right to vote after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and four, personally pay, at least six months prior to the election, all State poll taxes assessed or assable against him, under this Constitution, during the three years next preceding that in which he offers to vote; provided that, if he register after the first day of January, nineteen hundred and four, he shall, unless physically unable, prepare and deposit his ballot without aid, on such printed form as the law may prescribe; but any voter registerest prior to that date may be aided in preparation of his ballot by such officer of election as he himself may designate.

"Sec. 22. No person who, during the late war between the States, served in the army or navy of the United States, or the Confederate States, or any State of the United States, or of the Confederate States, shall at any time be required to pay a poll tax as a prerequisite to the right to register or vote. The collection of the State poll tax assessed against any one shall not be enforced by legal process until the same has become three year's past due.

Democratic Governor of Arkansas Favors Disfranchisement.

The following remarkable statement favoring the disfranchisement of the colored citizens of Arkansas, was issued by Governor Donaghey of that state on July 4, 1912:

"I am in favor of the passage of the 'grandfather clause' amendment to the constitution. From every viewpoint it is better to eliminate the negro from politics. In the South racial conditions will not permit of his engaging in politics. Several States in the South have the 'grandfather clause.' It is better for the negro because when he does not engage in politics he will cease to antagonize the white man, can look better after his own affairs, and in every other way obtain a better recognition.

"Then, so long as we do not permit the negro to vote anyway, why not do it legally, instead of by process of intimidation? It is true that there are a few negroes who ought to be permitted to vote, but as a race it would unquestionably be bad policy to permit their voting by the wholesale.

"Statistics show there are in the neighborhood of a hundred thousand negroes of voting age in Arkansas. If one of them is entitled to vote, all are. This number would be sufficient to carry any election in the State. In Jefferson County alone there are about six thousand negroes of voting age, and three thousand white voters. The same ratio exists in many other counties of the State.

"By all means let us pass this amendment to the constitution, and let us have absolutely fair elections between white men. Let every white man's vote be counted just as he votes it. As the matter stands now, the State Board of Election Commissioners is worried to death all the time just prior to elections by committees and factions from the black districts of the State wanting the appointment of certain election commissioners, the excuse being that the Democratic ticket is imperiled because of the excessive number of negroes in those districts. As a matter of fact, the real purpose is to deny the negro the legal right which he now has to vote.

"Again. this practice has been carried on until it has not stopped with the negro. but has been extended by the dominant factions to the counting out of white men's votes.

"Let us be sincere and honest in what we are doing; be open and fair and state openly what we intend to do."

The XVth Amendment Should Be Abrogated.

"The States said years ago, the first and most important step towards a solution of the Negro problem should be the withdrawal of the **right of suffrage to the Negroes** by abrogating the **Fifteenth Amendment to the Federal Constitution.**"—**New** Orleans States (Dem.)

DISFRANCHISEMENT.

The Republican Party wrote into the organic law the declaration which proclaims the civil and political rights of the Afro-American people. The Democratic Party has enacted in the Southern States which it controls, laws which, by means of various devices, are really aimed at the disfranchisement of the race for reasons of color alone. Three attempts have been made by the Democrats of Maryland to disfranchise the colored voters of that State. The Maryland Republicans have stood solidly against every attempt at disfranchisement, and in two of these fights which have occurred since Mr. Taft's election as President, they have had his active support.

In December, 1908, just after Mr. Taft had been elected and before he had been inaugurated, in answer to a letter of the Hon. Wm. F. Stone, Collector of the Port of Baltimore, for the purpose of obtaining his views, the President made the following reply:

Taft Opposes Disfranchisement.

''My dear Mr. Stone—I have your letter of December 9, but have not been able to answer it until now. I don't think any one can read my North Carolina speech with any care and on that base the belief that I would favor such a bill as that proposed in Maryland. The provision that the first class of eligible voters shall be those persons who on the 1st day of January in the year 1869, or prior thereto, were entitled to vote under the laws of Maryland or any other State of the United States wherein they then resided, and that the male descendents of such persons, as a second class, shall be entitled to vote, was intended to exempt the persons thus made eligible from the educational or property qualifications which follow in the descriptions of the fifth and sixth classes of persons who shall be entitled to vote.

''The same thing may be said of the third and fourth classes, which includes foreign born citizens of the United States naturalized between January 1, 1869, and the date of the adoption of the proposed section and the male descendants of such mentioned persons. This is in order to exempt such immigrants and their descendants from educational or property qualifications.

''Now we know the first four classes include no Negroes at all. In other words, it is intended to free the whites from educational or property qualifications, but to subject all Negroes to them.

''The whole law ought to be condemned. It is not drawn in the spirit of justice and equality, having regard for the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, and I sincerely hope that no Republican who desires equality of treatment to the black and white races will vote for it. Sincerely yours.

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS.

Large Number of Afro-American Assistants, Clerks and other Employees. Great Work of Research by Daniel Murray, One of the Assistants.

The Library of Congress is one of the great libraries of the world. Mr. Daniel Murray, one of the Assistants in the Library has spent many years in research among the books of the Library and has been able to identify approximately 6,000 titles of works by colored authors, and believes quite a third of these refer to books and pamphlets represented in the Library of Congress. The number is being augmented almost daily by the accessions gathered through the Copyright Office. To many who are wont to belittle the literary capacity of the race, this will prove astounding information. Of musical composition by colored composers, the Library has apparently about seven thousand.

There are 46 Afro-American employes—27 of these are employed under the direct supervision of the Librarian of Congress, for strictly library work, and 19 under the Superintendent of the Library Building and Grounds, who has charge of the ''care and maintenance'' of the building and grounds. The aggregate amount paid for service in the Library Proper is $17,960, the aggregate under the Superintendent of Building and Grounds is $6,960, or a total of $24,920.

REPUBLICAN PARTY FOR LAW AND ORDER.

President Taft Denounces Lynching. In Many Public Utterances He has Called it Cowardly Murder. Advocates Rope for Lynchers.

In forty years, more than 5,000 persons have been the victims of mobs. Vardaman's, Mississippi has the largest unmber to its discredit. Afro-American have been lynched for such causes as race prejudice, informing, making threats, unpopularity, slapping child, being troublesome, testifying against white persons, enticing servants away and in many cases for no cause whatever.

The Republican Party is essentially the party of law and order. While the Democratic party has condoned lawlessness, the Republican party has always stood for the supremacy of the law. The majority of the lynchings have taken place in states controlled by the Democratic party.

President Taft has denounced lynching in the strongest terms in many public utterances.

President Taft Advocates the Rope for Lynchers.

At a meeting held April 9, 1912, in Metropolitan A. M. E. Church, Washington, D. C., for the purpose of raising funds for the building of a gymnasium at Howard University, President Taft condemned mob law in vigorous language. The President did not mince his words and he was greeted with thundering applause when he declared with emphasis, ''the man that pulls the rope should hang by the rope.'' President Taft said in part:

''Now take the matter of lynching. That, as well as the administration of our criminal law, forms a disgraceful page in our social history. (Hearty applause.) I just think it is well to take a text on that subject. (Prolonged applause and cheers.)

Now I know that our courts are not perfect. I know that they don't apply the law with certainty and dispatch in the criminal cases as they ought to, and I believe that part of this departure from law as is the case i nlynching and disorder, is due to the fact that courts are not certain and are not full of dispatch in the justice meted out in criminal cases. But we must not attribute it all to the courts. There is among our people a disposition to forget the sanctity of the law and not to know that no civilization in any country can live unless the law is respected. (Prolonged applause.) Now lynching is claimed by some being justified because, as they say it is applied only to persons guilty of one special crime that is particularly heinous to all of us. But that is not true. Statistics show that lynching is applied to those charged with a great many crimes and the moment you transgress once and the moment that the mob acquires the wolfish desire for human blood, the example is dreadful to the community in which the exhibition of lawlessness is given. (Prolonged applause.) And there is not any crime (I don't care what it is) that justifies a departure from the law or the summary punishment by a mob of the person who is charged with guilt. (Prolonged applause.) It is one of the serious questions that we have to face in this country. We have not among all of our people as profound a respect for the law and the necessity for obedience to it as we ought to have, and that is part of the reason why we have this exhibition of lawlessness over the country and these cruel murders (for that is what they are, for it is no less a murder when four hundred participate in the killing of one man) ordinarily it is accompanied by a great deal more of cowardice by reason of the fact that four hundred are engaged in such a crime.

AND THE ONLY WAY BY WHICH IT CAN BE SUPPRESSED IS THAT SOMETIMES WE SHALL HAVE MEN AS SHERIFFS, MEN AS GOVERNORS, AND AS PROSECUTORS, AND AS JURORS, WHO WILL SEE TO IT THAT THE MEN ENGAGED IN PULLING THE ROPE UNDER THOSE CONDITIONS SHALL THEMSELVES SWING BY THE ROPE. (Hearty applause and cheering.) Wherever it occurs it is to be condemned and rooted out and this can only be done by developing an individual and public opinion demanding the enforcement of the law. And I hold that every one who tends to minimize respect for constituted authority and respect for the law and fail to follow it just as it is, contributes to the continuance of that lawlessness which we deplore theoretically but, I am sorry to say, at the same ti emwe express too much sympathy with actually.''

Accounts of Lynching Makes One's Blood Boil.

For a length of time it seems to be altogether abated, and then there will be an outbreak, a mob will be formed, developing the most fiendish cruelty, manifesting itself in the blindest and most unreasonable assault's upon perfectly innocent people simply because of their color. It is only fair to say that such brutish exhibitions are not confined to any one section. It is impossible to read accounts of this sort without having one's blood boil with indignation that there can reside in the human breast such a savage and beastly impulse and motive. But we must remember two things: First, that in spite of our education and refinement and progress toward Christian ideals we still retain in our nature a great deal of the original animal, and, second, that the spirit of a mob seems to be a different spirit from that of the individual making it up, and to disclose a more insensate and inhuman state of impulses than it would be possible to find in any one of its members. The best remedy, and the necessary one, is an improvement in the administration of our criminal laws, and the holding to strict account the officers of the law who do not use all possible means to prevent and suppress such outbreaks.—From speech of **Judge W. H. Taft,**

Discount on Lynch Rope.

At the annual meeting of the Plymouth Cordage Company at Boston sometime since, a stockholder asked President Loring if the Company sold any rope in the South for hanging Negroes.

This stockholder received the reply that as an actual fact the company has received a request from one of the Southern Democratic States in the lynching belt for a large discount in price if a purchase of its rope was made for lynching purposes, it being argued that the publicity which would be given the Plymouth rope for lynching was worth a concession.

RACE SEGREGATION.

Latest Device of Democrats to Humiliate and Injure the Afro-American People. A Revival of the Ghetto of the Middle Ages.

The Democrats in their efforts to antagonize the colored race, have hit upon a new plan in recent years which is practically a revival of the Ghetto of the middle ages, a plan of restricting the residence of Afro-Americans to certain blocks or streets in cities.

The West Segregation Ordinance, now in force in Baltimore, was introduced in the City Council by Samuel L. West, councilman from the 13th Ward, passed in March, 1911, and approved by Mayor J. Barry Mahool, on April 7, 1911. It is called "An ordinance for preserving peace, preventing conflict and ill feeling between the white and colored races in Baltimore City and promoting the general welfare of the city, by providing, so far as practicable, for the use of separate blocks by white and colored people for residences, churches and schools."

Councilman West, who is a Democrat, is very proud of his segregation work and has issued a pamphlet with his portrait on the cover, giving the text of the ordinance and the story of its enactment. He explains, in a recent newspaper article, that this was necessary, owing to the great interest in segregation which has been aroused in the Democratic South since the passage of his ordinance. "It has kept me busy sending and explaining copies of the ordinance," said Samuel L. West. "I have never known an instance in which there was greater interest in a city ordinance."

The ordinance may seem fair on its face, but that it is the result of race hatred for the Afro-American is evident from the arguments of certain white property owners who presented a petition to the City Council urging the passage of the segregation ordinance because they were law abiding citizens who were entitled to dwell in peace and security, but whose property had been depreciated by an invasion of Negroes, induced by certain real estate agents who wished to buy their homes at reduced rates.

The ordinance had the support of the Democratic press and people. The Republicans opposed it but as the Democrats had a majority in the City Council, they were unable to prevent the passage of the ordinance. This is made clear on a note in the pamphlet:

Note—All persons who voted for the ordinance are Democrats; all who voted against are Republicans. Mr. Jung, who was out of the room, and Messrs. Trautfelter, Frank and Heatwole, all of whom are Democrats, but who were unavoidably absent, declared themselves fully in favor of the ordinance.

HOSTILE DEMOCRATS IN THE 62d CONGRESS.

Present Number of Bills Inimical to the Afro-American People. Repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments Proposed by Congressman Hardwick of Georgia. Congressman Heflin of Alabama Wished to Provide Jim-Crow Cars in the District of Columbia

DEMOCRATS HAVE INTRODUCED EVERY BILL ANTAGONISTIC TO THE RACE.

For many years, the Democrats in Congress have introduced bills and joint resolutions inimical to the Afro-American people. They have been very active in the present Congress, now that they have the control of the House of Representatives many bills antagonistic to the colored race have been presented to Congress.

Because o fa Republican President and a Republican Senate, it is impossible for them to enact any of their proposed measures into law but the fact that such legislation has been proposed and has in every instance been offered by a Democrat is proof that the Democratic party would enact inimical legislation if it had the power.

On April 12, 1911, Congressman Hardwick, of Georgia introduced two joint resolutions, one H. J. Res. 60, proposing an amendment to repeal the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and one, H. J. Res. 61, proposing the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

On April 18, 1911, Congressman Hardwick of Georgia introduced a bill, H. R. 5,948, to prohibit in the District of Columbia the intermariage of whites with Negroes or Mongolians.

On December 6, 1911, Congressman Heflin of Alabama introduced a Bill, H. R. 14,680, providing that the street car companies of the District of Columbia shall provide separate street cars for White and Negro passengers.

Before casting his ballot for the Democratic ticket every Afro-American voter should read the above a second time and then ask himself if it would be safe to aid in putting hostile Democrats into power.

TO REPEAL FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT.

Copy of Joint Resolution Introduced in Congress by Congressman Hardwick, Democrat of Georgia.

62D CONGRESS
1ST. SESSION.

H. J. RES. 60.

JOINT RESOLUTION.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

APRIL 12, 1911.

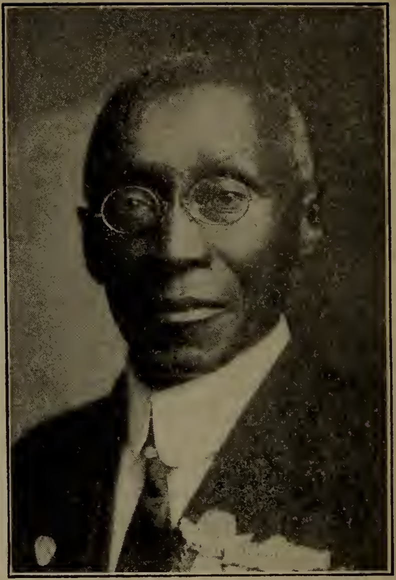
Mr. HARDWICK introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Election of President, Vice President, and Representatives in Congress and ordered to be printed

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution by providing that all of section two of the fourteenth amendment except its first sentence shall be repealed.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (*two-thirds of each House concurring therein*). That the following amendment to the Constitution be proposed to the legislatures of the several States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall become and be a part of the Constitution, namely:

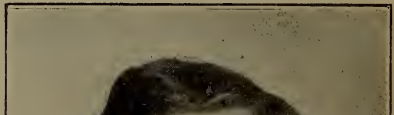
"That the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States be, and the same is hereby, repealed."

HON. CHARLES A. COTTRILL
Collector of Internal Revenue,
Hawaii.



HON. JOSEPH E. LEE
Collector of Internal Revenue, Jacksonville, Fla.

HON. R. W. TYLER
Auditor for the Navy Department,
Washington.



HON. N. W. ALEXANDER
Register of Land Office, Montgomery,
Ala.

THE JIM-CROW CAR.

How the Democratic Legislators of the South Endeavcr to Degrade and Humiliate the Afro-American.

In their efforts to degrade and humiliate the race, the Democratic legislators of every Southern State have provided a system of ''jim crow'' cars for Afro-Americans.

The laws say that the accomodations ''shall be equal, but separate.''. As a matter of fact, they are seldom equal and usually very inferior, especially on the smaller lines, where wornout cars, which are generally in a filthy condition, are for Afro-Americans.

On the larger roads better cars are used, but the ''jim-crow'' car is generally placed next to the locomotive, where the occupants get the full benefit of the dust and smoke, and are in a dangerous position in case of accident.

Several States have enacted laws forbidding sleeping car companies to sell berths to Afro-Americans.

These laws were not passed for the reason that Southern Democrats are anxious to avoid close proximity to Afro-Americans, for servants are allowed under the law to ride in the same car with the whites. The idea, which is to humiliate the race, is clearly expressed by H. D. Wilson, a prominent Louisiana Democrat; greatly interested in ''jim-crow'' legislation, who said: ''It is not only the desire to separate the whites and blacks on the railroad for the comfort it will provide, but also for the moral effect. The separation of the races is one of benefit, but the demonstration of the superiority of the white man over the negro is a greater thing. There is nothing which shows it more conclusively than the compelling of negroes to ride in cars marked for their especial use.''

Cattle Car Accommodations for Afro-Americans.

The following from St. Luke Herald, Richmond, Va., gives a good idea of the ''jim-crow'' accommodations provided for colored people in the Southern Democratic States:

''In these warm and prespiring days Negroes are cooped up in the smallest possible space in one end of the baggage car. But they are not even allowed to occupy this limited space for the news butcher comes along and occupies two seats in the 'jim-crow' corner and the conductor generally occupies two seats with his belongings usually just across from the newsboy.

''The smoking department on the C. and O. trains is a stifling, narrow affair, into which four persons may squeeze and stifle should they desire to smoke. Usually one toilet of the narrowest dimensions and primitive appointments serves both male and female travelers. Dirty tin cups are sometimes furnished for drinking purposes, while the car just in the rear, or the car beyond the white smoking car, generally has a lavatory with soap and towel and a glass for drinking purposes. The aisles in the White coaches are generally carpeted while the aisles in the 'Jim-Crow' car are as innocent of carpet as the floor is of cleanliness.''

"THE PRESIDEN[illegible]

Of the United States Can Have No More Sacred Function than to Speak Words of Encouragement."

''With your effort to uplift yourselves, I have the deepest sympathy. The President of the United States can have no more sacred function than to speak words of encouragement and hope to assist your own efforts. Fate in the past has not been kind to you, and the whole American people has the highest obligation of trusteeship and guardianship for your uplift.

''I say to the colored men and women of this country that hard as your lot has been and hard as the road is likely to be, it will be a road onward if you abide by your consciences and by ideals of self restraint, and that you will attain a condition you hardly dream of to-day.''—Address of President Taft to Afro-American citizens of Atlanta, Ga., at Bethel Church.

COLORED RACE HAS HIGH IDEALS.

Said President Taft in Recent Address, Believes That Race Needs Men in Learned Professions

COLLEGE EDUCATION ESSENTIAL TO FULL DEVELOPMENT.

Every once in a while you will meet a man whose vision is a bit clouded, who talks about the waste of money in teaching men of your race the curriculum of an academic institution. Instead of sending them to the university, the claim has been made that they should he sent to manual training institutions. Such a man has never thought deeply on the subject and does not understand that as a race which is striving upward and onward you need many who shall be leaders—men who shall figure in the learned professions, many of them as physicians, as lawyers, and especially as ministers.

Believes Race Has High Ideals.

I believe in the higher education of the Negro so that the leaders of the Negro race may have high ideals, and I believe they have. I believe that they subscribe, as perhaps some other in our community life do not, to the majisty of the law and have respect for constituted authority. (Hearty applause,) and for our institutions under our Constitution as they are. (Hearty applause.)—President Taft at Howard University Meeting.

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Is What the Law Should Provide for All—The Proposal to Repeal the Fifteenth Amendment Dead Issue.

I come at once to the present condition of things, stated from a constitutional and political stanpoint. And that is this: That in all the Southern States it is possible, by election laws prescribing proper qualifications for the suffrage, which square with the Fifteenth Amendment and which shall be equally administered as between the black and white races, to prevent entirely the possibility of a domination of Southern State, county or municipal governments by an ignorant electorate, white or black. It is further true that the sooner such laws, when adopted, are applied with exact equality and justice to the two races, the better for the moral tone of State and community concerned. Negroes should be given an opportunity equally with whites, by education and thirft, to meet the requirements of eligibility which the State legislatures in their wisdom shall lay down in order to secure the safe exercise of the electoral franchise.

The proposal to repeal the Fifteenth Amendment is utterly impracticable and should be relegated to the limbo of forgotten issues. It is very certain that any party founded on the proposition would utterly fail in a national canvas. What we are considering is something practical, something that means attainable progress. All that the law or Constitution attempt to secure is equality of opportunity before the law and in the pursuit of happiness, and in the enjoyment of life, liberty and property.—From speech of President-elect W. H. Taft, at dinner of the North Carolina Society of New York.

A Dare-Devil Menace to Our Control.

''We thought then (in 1901, when the new Alabama Constitution disfranchising the Negro was under discussion), as we do now, that the menace to peace, the danger to society and white supremacy was not in the illiterate Negro, but in the upper branches of Negro society, the educated man, who, after ascertaining his political rights, forced the way to assert them. We, the Southern people, entertain no prejudice toward the ignorant per se inoffensive Negro. But our blood boils when the educated Negro asserts himself politically. We regard each assertion as an unfriendly encroachment upon our native superior rights, and a dare-devil menace to our control of the affairs of the state. Hence, we present that the way to avert the impending horrors is to emasculate the Negro politically by repealing the 15th amendment of the Constitution of the United States.''—Charles P. Lane, Editor Huntsville (Ala.) Daily Tribune.

"YOU STOOD LIKE A SOLID ROCK."

Said President Taft to the Delegates of the National Civil and Political League in Address at White House.

Praises Firm Stand of the Afro-American Delegates at Chicago. Denounces Lynching.

About fifty of the delegates to the convention of the National Civil and Political Negro League which met in Washington in July, were received by President Taft at the White House, Thursday July 18, 1912.

The President in a speech in the East Room publicly acknowledged his debt of gratitude to the Afro-American delegates to the Republican National Convention, pledged and instructed for him, who stood with the Taft forces through the fight.

"You Stood Like a Rock."

''I want to say to you,'' said the President, ''how much I appreciate your standing firm in my behalf at a time when it was intimated to the country that we could not depend upon you. You demonstrated there your appreciation of the accomplishments of the Republican party for your race in the past, and your abiding faith in its furture friendship; you stood like a solid rock.''

Bitterly Denounces Mob Law.

With respect to lynchings the President said that every time opportunity presented itself he had with as much emphasis as language would permit expressed himself ''in condemnation of lynching.'' Mr. Taft said that it was a disgrace to the country, and the only cure was the conviction of the lynchers and the hanging of a few of them. He said that federal jurisdiction of lynching was not permissible under the Constitution, lynching being an ordinary crime, and that ''such crimes under our form of government must be covered by state laws.''

The President suggested that the best way to stamp out this awful crime is by arousing public sentiment against it and ''administering certain and fitting punishment for those who are guilty.'' The President bitterly denounced mob law and said that petitions for Executive clemency to anyone guilty of lynching which might come before him will be received ''with that feeling on my part that there is no crime that ought to be more severely punished and more completely condemned.''

Rights of the Afro-American.

The President took up the subject of general rights of the Afro-American, saying:

''The Republican party ought to be maintained because of its useful past and its useful future. It has been the party for the maintenance of the equal rights of the Negro. It has not always succeeded in rounding out those rights in accordance with the letter of the Constitution, but it has accepted the responsibility, and every member of the party who is conscious of what it ought to stand for is ready to continue the fight for your constitutional rights. Recently we have had an agitation concerning an amendment to the Constitution which would affect the guarantee of life, liberty and property that we have all valued so highly, and which have come down to us from our ancestors.

"YOU ARE AMERICANS."

The Only Flag You Know Is the Stars and Stripes—You have Given Your Blood in Defense of the Flag.

''The idea that the South can afford,'' said Mr. Taft, ''to have the Afro-American transplanted to some other country, to me always sounded like a joke. They tried that down in Mississippi, and they mere going to move them, not out of the country to Africa but only across the river, and they had a riot. Of course, that is absurd.

I want to add that I always want to say before an Afro-American audience that you are Americans. The idea of transplanting you is utterly absurd. The only flag you know is the Stars and Stripes, and you are of a race that has given up their lives and moistened the ground with their blood in defense of that flag, and will continue to do so.''—Address of President Taft at Y. M. C. A., Augusta, Ga.

INTERESTING FACTS.

About Afro-Americans in the Service of the United States Government Under Republican Administration.

There are 417 Afro-American employees in the New York City post Office, drawing annual salaries aggregating in round numbers, $396,300.

Public school officials and teachers receiving from $500 per annum to $3,000 per annum, 566 in number, with an aggregate annual compensation of $537,000, are employed under the Government of the District of Columbia.

There are 1,529 Afro-Americans enlisted in the United States Navy, receiving an aggregate salary of $678,000.

One hundred and seventy-three Afro-Americans employed in the St. Louis, Mo., Post Office, draw salaries aggregating $152,000, annually.

In Richmond, Virginia, Post Office there are 87 Afro-American employees whose salaries aggregate $78,500, annually.

Sixty-six Afro-Americans are employed in the Louisville, Kentucky, Post Office, and they are paid salaries amounting to $59,440 annually.

There are 36 colored employees in the Cleveland, Ohio, Post Office, who draw salaries aggregating $35,500 annually.

Mr. James A. Cobb, Special District Attorney for the District of Columbia, prepares cases for prosecution under the Pure Food Law, and has charge of naturalization and forfeited bond cases.

Mr. Mifflin W. Gibbs was elected City Judge of Little Rock, Arkansas, by the Republicans of that city in 1873, and was the first man of the race to be so honored.

S. L. Williams, Esq., Special Assistant District Attorney at Chicago, is an Afro-American. He has charge of important special work.

Twelve Afro-American employees in the Wilmington, Delaware, Post Office, are paid salaries aggregating $11,000 annually.

There are fifty-seven colored employees in the Mobile, Alabama, Post Office, who receive annually $56,533.

The colored employees in the Washington Office of the Isthmian Canal Commission, receive annually salaries amounting to $7,200.

In the Post Office at Brooklyn, New York, there are 18 Afro-American employees whose salaries aggregate $16,120 annually.

There are 8 Afro-American employees in the Hartford, Conn., Post Office, and they draw salaries aggregating $9,300, annually.

All of the letter carriers at Jackson, Mississippi, are Afro-Americans. There are in all 33 colored employees in the U. S. service and their annual salaries aggregate $29,200.

The 43 railway postal clerks in Lousiana, running out of New Orleans, receive $49,800 in salaries annually.

In the Chicago Post Office there are 605 Afro-American employees whose annual salaries aggregate $554,300.

Eight Afro-Americans employed in the penitentiary service under the Department of Justice—4 at Atlanta, Ga., and 4 at Leavenworth, Kansas, receive $7,780 in annual salaries.

DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMAN RODDENBERY.

Makes Infamous Speech in Congress Against Colored Race While Attempting to "Jim Crow" Afro-American Veterans.

On May 10, 1912, Congressman Roddenbery, a Georgia Democrat, made an unsuccessful attempt to compel the Government to create ''Jim Crow'' Soldiers' homes throughout the country for Afro-Americans veterans. The House had under consideration at the time the conference report on the Sherwood Pension bill (H. R. 24016) granting pensions and increase of pensions to certain soldiers and sailors of the Civil War and certain widows and dependent children of soldiers and sailors of said war. Roddenbery offered an amendment, which provided that no pensions should be allowed inmates of national soldiers' homes unless whites and blacks are cared for in separate domiciles and grounds.

In support of his contention Roddenbery made a vile speech against the Afro-American race, which was promptly answered by Congressman Martin B. Madder of Illinois.

As Roddenbery's speech shows something of the attitude of the Democratic party toward the colored man, it is copied verbatim from the Congressional Record.

Mr. Finley. Has the gentleman seen or heard of that famous picture of the ex-President of the United States charging up San Jaun on a black charger, when there was not a horse within 40 miles of that battle ground?

Mr. Roddenbery. I have not seen the picture. I do not know whether it is so or not, but that black charger brings this to mind: If you really want to do something for these good Spanish War boys, go down here to this Pension Office and take out the Africans, turn them out of their jobs, and give the places to our Spanish War soldiers, and keep them there as long as they are able to work and labor. Let them administer a Caucasian government supported by Caucasian taxpayers. When they get too old, if indigent, then consider pensioning them; then go down Pennsylvania Avenue to this massive War and Navy Building, walk up and down the aisles, and take those black sons of the cocoanut region who sit there with big brown drops of sweat coming out of their foreheads, kick them out, and put these old veterans of the Civil War there by those tables, at those telephones under those electric fans, and as long as they are able to labor let them have the benefit of the Nation's offices and gratitude. You have taken those old heroes of that great struggle and sent them out to labor and toil to pay taxes to support these Africans, for whom they offered their lives that they might be free. If you have anything to give out, go to the sons of these veterans of the Civil War and bring them from the mine, bring them from the field and shop and fill these negroes' places with them. Let not the old pioneer of this country at 90 years of age be felling a tree in the forest, where by reason of his infirmity he drops dead beneath its shock. Give him and his kind a quiet and easy position now enjoyed by a ''kinky head.''

Take this class of men in their infirmity and give them these do-nothing, sitting-down jobs, and turn this mixed brood of African tree climbers out to earn a living on the farms and in the fields. (Laughter). You can fool the white people of this country no longer by putting a fellow here and there in an office and giving him a salary and telling him how he shall vote. They are tired being paid off with $50 jobs while the African draws $100. Times are changed and the sons of these old veterans are not going to stand for it any longer. They are not going to let their fathers go out and fight for four years to give the Ethiopian liberty and then submit to our taxing them the balance of their lives to give back Africans jobs in all these departments around here. So if you want to do something for the Spanish War soldier and the son of a veteran of the Civil War and the old veteran himself, fire these political signposts out. There are about 50,000 of them drawing all the way from $3,000 to $300. Put the Anglo-Saxon in. They are honorable; they are our blood. They helped save this country, if saved it was. They have made this country and will perpetuate it. Do something for them now. Turn Africa out and let America in. This ebony-hued tribe have thousands of comfortable positions, sitting on plush-bottom chairs, with feet resting on stone tiling, with ears listening to the hum of the electric fans while pictures of our mighty men are hanging on the walls around them. Year in and year out these black-tinted Africans, emitting the compound aroma of cucumber and onion, do nothing and draw salaries, and my people and yours labor to furnish the gold to pay them with. Go down to the Bureau of Printing and Engraving where there stands a pure white girl working day by day and next to her a black negro working day by day—

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. Roddenbery. Fire them out! Fire them out! Fire them out! (Laughter) if you have got Caucasian blood in your veins kick them out. In their places establish the soldier, his sons, and his daughters, the builders and the preservers of this Republic.

REPUBLICAN ANSWERS RODDENBERY

Congressman Madden of Illinois Defends the Afro-Amercian Against the Georgian and Lauds the Heroes of the Race.

Congressman Martin B. Madden of Illinois replied a sfollows:

I am astonished that any man on this floor would introduce such an amendment as this to a bill seeking to pay pensions to soldiers who served their country. I can not sit here without saying a word in opposition to such an amendment. It ought not to be considered by the House for a moment. I hope with all my heart that every vote in the House will be cast against it. No men fought more bravely than the black men. They are entitled to their full share of credit for preserving the Nation. You say their liberties were at stake? Yes; and so was the liberty of every other person in the land. Thank God the close of the war brought liberty alike to the North and to the South, to the whites and to the blacks, and that today we live in a land where slavery is no more, where every citizen is a sovereign. I grieve to see the gentleman from Georgia express such bitterness toward the Negro. He should be one of the colored man's ablest defenders. He should be advocating measures to help the Negro to help himself. The Afro-American has made wonderful progress considering his lack of opportunity. He is a good citizen, a gallant soldier. He should be encouraged, not reviled.

Who led the successful charge at El Caney at San Juan Hill? Was it not the colored man? Who questioned his color then? Did anyone revile him? Not at all. All praised his valor, all applauded his intrepidity. He is brave, he is fearless; he is easily led, he makes a good soldier, he is entitled to be honored no less than his white brother. The colored veteran soldier should receive the same tender care in his declining years that we are proud to accord to the white men who rendered equal service to the Nation. We should know no color in ministering to the wants of those who gave their all in defense of the country. Who made the Nation great? Who made us one people, inseparable now and forever? Who questioned the color of the soldier's skin when he enlisted to fight for the preservation of the Union? (Applause.) No man cared whether he was colored or white. The question then was, Was he a patriot, was he willing to give his life to the service of his country? He offered all he had when he offered his life. The country owes him a debt of gratitude for the work he did in the dark days of trouble.

Gentlemen, strike down the color line. Defeat the amendment offered by the gentleman from Georgia, and let the news spread into every home in this broad land of the free that Congress will tolerate no discrimination in the treatment of the country's veteran soldiers on account of the color of their skin. (Applause)

The fundamental law of the United States prohibits slavery and involuntary servitude, but in portions of the South where the Democrats rule, lawless people have taken advantage of the lax observance of civil rights as applied to the Afro-American and have held their darker-hued brethren in a state of peonage. This practice has been very common, but under the Taft Administration, the Department of Justice has prosecuted a number of the miscreants, who may now be addressed "Care Federal Prison, Atlanta, Ga." Peonage is not so popular as it used to be in the Democratic South.

President Taft has denounced lynching in more vigorous terms than any other President. He advocated the rope for lynchers.

In Cuba the Afro-American soldiers astonished the world by their bravery and coolness under fire. They were fighting to free the beautiful isle from the Spanish yoke. It was a Republican President, McKinley, who commissioned 266 men of the race to lead their men to battle.

TRUE TO PRESIDENT TAFT.

Afro-American Delegates to the Republican National Convention at Chicago. Stood Firm for Taft Although Roosevelt Agents Offered Strong Inducements for them to Desert the President.

The renomination of President Taft was to a large extent made possible by the unwavering loyalty of the great body of Afro-American delegates, who held the balance of power in the Chicago convention. Although Roosevelt agents held out inducements of every kind for them to desert the President, they spurned the offers and voted as they were instructed for William Howard Taft.

Just before the convention stories were circulated by the enemies of the race that the Afro-American delegates were venal and would desert the President when the crisis came, but to their everlasting credit be it said that they proved faithful to their trusts. In addition to the great work for their country in voting for the renomination of a great and good President, they rendered a distinct service to their people by demonstrating to the world that their honor was unpurchasable.

COLORED MEN IN CONGRESS.

All Republicans. No Afro-American Democrat Ever Sat in the National Legislature.

A score of Afro-Americans have had the honor to sit in the Congress of the United States, and every one was sent there by the Republican party. No colored man has ever been elected to Congress on the Democratic ticket.

Here the names of those who were elected and seated. A number of Afro-Americans have been elected to Congress, who were not seated.

SENATORS.

Hiram R. Revels of Mississippi.
Blanche K. Bruce of Mississippi.

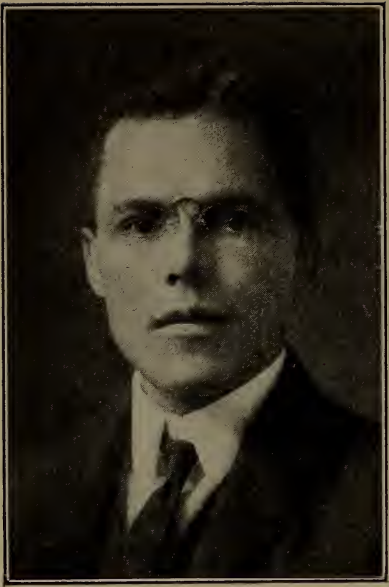
REPRESENTATIVES.

R. H. Cain ot South Carolina.
Henry P. Cheatham of North Carolina.
Robert C. DeLarge of South Carolina.
Robert Brown Elliott of South Carolina.
Jere Haralson of Alabama.
John H. Hyman of North Carolina.
James E. O'Hara of North Carolina.
John R. Lynch of Mississippi.
John M. Langston of Virginia.
Thomas E. Miller of South Carolina.
George W. Murray of South Carolina.
Charles E. Nash of Louisiana.
Joseph H. Rainey of South Carolina.
Benjamin S. Turner of Alabama.
Josiah T. Walls of Florida.
George H. White of North Carolina.
Jefferson H. Long of Georgia.
James T. Rapier of Alabama.
Alonzo J. Ransier of South Carolina.

The First Afro-American Senator.

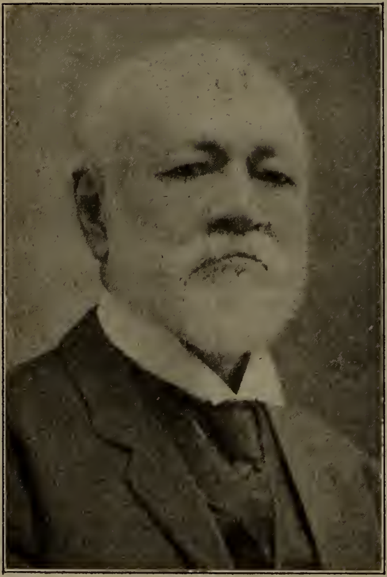
The first Afro-American who ever sat in the United States Senate as a duly qualified member was Hiram R. Revels. He was elected by the Legislature of Mississippi, and he served from February, 1870 to March of the next year.

Revels was born in North Carolina, of free parents, in 1822; and desiring an education, he went to Indiana, where he attended the Quaker College at Liberty. Later he studied at Knox College, in Illinois, and in 1847 he became a preacher in the African Methodist Episcopal Church. He went about the country speaking about slavery, and at the breaking out of the war he organized Negro regiments in Missouri and Maryland. In 1869 he went to Natchez, Miss., where he was elected a member of the city council. His next office was that of United States Senator.

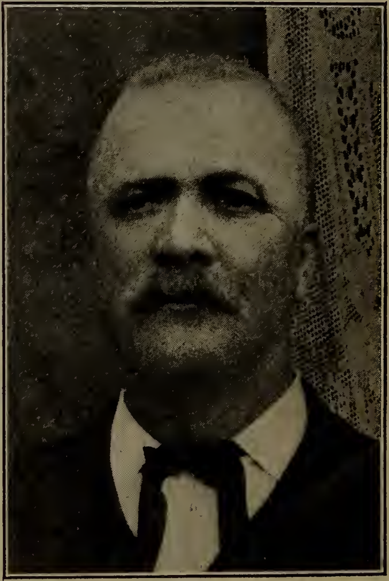


HON. EMMETT J. SCOTT
Late Commissioner to Liberia.

MRS. MARY C. BOOZE
Postmaster, Mound Bayou, Miss.



HON. P. B. S. PINCHBACK
Revenue Agent, New York City.



HON. JOHN E. BUSH
Receiver of Public Moneys, Little Rock. Ark.

SHORT PARAGRAPHS.

On Recent Events Which Show the Unfriendly Democratic Attitude toward the Afro-American People of the Country.

In Alabama Congressman Underwood says the Negro "does not count for anything politically."

Louisiana has a colored population of more than 150,000 of voting age, of which number nearly 70,000 can read and write, yet in the general election of 1908 only 1,743 were registered as voters, and nearly all of these were victims of Louisiana's minority "white primary."

Judge Cochran of Atlanta, Ga., wanted to throw out a vote cast by a Negro, and said that it made no difference for whom the Negro voted, and that his being a democrat gave him no right to cast a ballot in a strictly white primary.

The Virginia Senate recently passed a bill which permits any city or town within the State to segregate Afro-Americans.

The Maryland House of Delegates defeated by a vote of 76 to 11 the Anti-Lynching Bill. It was argued by one of the opponents of the bill that although "Ohio and Illinois have this bill in their statutes, but there isn't a Southern State that has it and I believe there are good reasons why all of them should not. I don't think Maryland wants to begin this."

A bill has been passed by the Democratic legislature of Louisiana which authorizes any city or town in that state to segregate homes of Afro-Americans by refusing building permits.

In Senator Tillman's state of South Carolina the jim-crow steam railroad law has been in effect for many years. Now an effort is being made to separate the races on the street railway cars.

In a Southern Democratic city a mass meeting was held in a CHURCH, at which resolutions were passed pledging signers to refrain from selling their property to Negroes if that property adjoins property in the possession of white persons.

The Attorney-General of Texas has handed down an opinion that Afro-Americans may be prohibited from voting at "white" primaries.

FOR WHITE VOTE ONLY.

Democratic Senator Newlands Talks in United States Senate in Favor of Restricting Suffrage to White Race.

In the discussion in the Senate August 24, on the general deficiency bill, Senator Newlands, who presented a plank to the Baltimore convention dealing with the race question, laid the foundation for the future consideration of that subject, which, he said, he believed was bound to become one of the most serious problems the American people would be called upon to solve.

"For many years," said Senator Newlands, "I have been profoundly impressed by the radical complications of the United States, holding within its boundaries, as it does, nearly 12,000,000 of blacks, and facing on the Pacific hundreds of millions of people of the brown and yellow races, who look upon the United States as the promised land of opportunity.

"At the Baltimore Democratic convention I presented a platform plank proposing to restrict suffrage in an immigration to this country to people of the white race.

Roosevelt Changes Views.

"Later Mr. Roosevelt, whose views regarding the right of the blacks in the South have hitherto been in marked hostility to the prevailing sentiment of the South, astonished the country by his declaration in favor of organizing a Progressive party as a white party in the South and as a white and black party in the North.

TAFT ADMINISTRATION WINS.

Attorney General Wickersham Victorious in His Battle for His Afro-American Assistant Attorney General W. H. Lewis.

Backed by President Taft, Attorney General Wickersham has for many months made a determined fight against the color-line and at the meeting of the American Bar Association of Milwaukee August 27, he scored a great victory when the Association voted to retain as members: William H. Lewis, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, Butler R. Wilson of Boston and Wm. R. Morris of Minneapolis.

The executive committee. headed by S. S. Gregory, of Chicago, president of the association, presented a special report, declaring it has been against the association's policy to admit colored members, and saying that Lewis, Wilson. and Morris were seated on recommendations of local councils without the fact that they were Afro-Americans being made generally known. The report asserted the eligibility of the men to membership is not affected by the report, and leaves open the question whether the association wants to admit Afro-Americans hereafter.

Ralph W. Breckinridge, of Omaha, Nebr., submitted a minority report, opposing the committee's action revoking the election of the colored men.

OPPOSES NEGRO POLICE.

Democratic Senator Hoke Smith of Georgia Would Have No Afro-Americans on the Force in the Capital City.

Senator Hoke Smith, of Georgia, appeared in the police court at Washington, D. C., July 8, 1912, as counsel for Grover Kelly, a young white boy of Macon, Ga., who had been arrested by a colored policeman for making remarks derogatory to colored bluecoats in general.

Senator Smith was accompanied by Representatives Bartlett and Hughes, of Georgia. They learned that Kelly, who came to Washington last week to be a chauffer, had wandered down by the Potomac last Sunday morning early to watch some fishermen. Seeing a colored policeman, he expressed surprise, and remarked that such a sight would not be tolerated in the South, and for a colored policeman to attempt to arrest a white man would start a riot.

Find No Case Docketed.

This remark was repeated to the policeman by one of the onlookers, and the guardian of the law applied his night stick to the young man and took him to the nearest precinct, from where he was later released on a cash bond.

When the three Georgia legislators walked into the police station they were told that no case had been docketed, and that the cash collateral had been returned to Kelly. They then went into executive session with the district attorney, and expressed their opinion of colored policemen in general.

Opposed to Colored Police.

''If this Negro policeman had wanted to prosecute this young white boy, he could probably have brought in a half dozen witnesses to swear that Kelly was the aggressor,'' said Senator Smith. ''But I want to tell you that I would take the word of this good boy, whom I know, in preference to that of 100 policemen.

''I am opposed to the practice of having colored policemen in the District. It is a source of danger bv constantly engendering racial friction, and is offensive to thousands of Southern white people who make their homes here. These places ought to be filled by good white men.''

Not a Mistake to give Citizenship.

''Instead of asserting that it was a mistake to give the Afro-American the rights of citizenship, we should devote all our thought and energies to raising him to the point to qualify him to exercise his precious right. We should educate him and do everything in our power to make a good citizen of him. He needs encouragement, and we owe it to ourselves to do all in our power to elevate him.''—Senator Shelby M. Cullom of Illinois.

About Afro-Americans in the Service of the United States Government Under Republican Administration.

Mr. H. H. Garner an Afro-American entered the postal service at Little Rock in 1890 when he was appointed letter carrier. The force then consisted of nine carriers. Mr. Garner in now Superintendent of Carriers. There are now 46 Afro-American employees whose salaries aggregate $43,700 per annum.

The 60 letter carriers employed in the Post Office at Memphis Tenn., receive salaries aggregating $64,400 per annum.

T. J. Galbreath, Deputy Marshal of the Federal Court at New Orleans, La., receives a salary of $1,400 per annum. Eight bailiffs receive an aggregate annual compensation of $5,313.

In taking the Thirteenth Decennial Census in 1910, there were employed in the Census Bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor at Washington, 273 Afro-Americans as temporary clerks and they received salaries aggregating $288,101.

According to the Rebellion Records there were 186,017 Afro-American soldiers enlisted in the Union Army for the civil war. It is estimated that there are now living between 37,000 and 38,000 Afro-American pensioners. There are 93 Afro-American employees in the Pension Bureau drawing $89,340 in salaries annually..

Dr. S. L. Carson, Assistant Surgeon of Freedman's Hospital receives a salary of $1,500 per annum. Dr. George W. Davis, anaesthetist receives $1,200 per annum.

The Afro-Americans employed under the Revenue Cutter Service in the Treasury Department at the port of Wilmington, N. C., receive compensation to the amount of $3,000 annually.

The 14 colored letter carriers employed at the Muskogee, Okla., Post Office receive $13,400 annually in salaries.

The Afro-American employees under the Treasury Service at Charleston, S.C., are paid aggregate annual salaries of $3,480.

Mr. H. C. Cantwell is correspondence and account current clerk in the U. S. Custom Service at Key West, Florida.

The aggregate annual salaries of the 16 Afro-American employees in the Galveston Post Office amount to $15,120.

The Afro-Americans employed under the Treasury Department in Pensacola, Fla., are paid $3,660 annually.

There are 7 Afro-American carriers in the Post Office at Greenville Miss., and their annual salaries aggregate $6,300.

The Afro-American employed under the Treasury Department at Jacksonville, Fla., receive $6,140 annually.

The aggregate salaries of the regular clerks and carriers in the Post Office at St. Paul, Minn., amount to $14,400 annually.

The colored employees under the service of the Treasury Department at Dayton, Ohio, receive annual salaries amounting to $2,500.

The Post Master and all of the employees of the Beaufort, S. C. Post Office are Afro-Americans.

THE BLACK CODES.

In 1865 and 1866, the Southern legislatures composed entirely of Democrats passed a series of infamous laws, known as the Black Codes. We give a few extracts:

South Carolina.

Extracts from an Act to Establish and Regulate Domestic Relations of Persons of Color. (Approved December 21, 1865.)

Contracts for Service.

Sec. 35. All persons of color who make contracts for service or labor shall be known as servants, and those with whom they contract shall be known as masters.

Sec. 43. No written contract shall be required when the servant voluntarily receives no remuneration except food and clothing.

Sec. 45. On farms or in outdoor service, the hours of labor shall be from sunrise to sunset.

Sec. 46. All lost time, not caused by the act of the master may be deducted from the wages of the servant; and food, nursing and other necessaries for the servant, whilst he is absent from work on account of sickness, may also be deducted from his wages.

Sec. 47. Visitors or other persons shall not be invited or allowed by the servant to come or remain upon the premises of the master without his express permission.

Sec. 49. Servants shall not be absent from the premises without the permission of the master.

Sec. 50. The master shall not be liable to pay for any additional or extraordinary services or labor of his servants, the same being necessary, unless by his express agreement.

Sec. 52. Instead of discharging the servant, the master may complain to the district judge or one of the magistrates, who shall have the power, on being satisfied of the misconduct complained of to inflict, or cause to be inflicted on the servant, suitable corporal punishment, or impose upon him such pecuniary fine as may be thought fit, and immediately to remand him to his work; which fine shall be deducted from his wages, if not otherwise paid.

Sec. 57. The master shall not be bound to furnish medicine or medical assistance for his servant, without his express agreement.

Sec. 72. No person of color shall pursue or practice the art, trade, or business of an artisan, mechanic or shopkeeper, or any other trade, employment or business (except that of husbandry or that of a servant under contract for service or labor), on his own account and for his own benefit, until he shall have obtained a license therefor from the judge of the district court, which license shall be good for one year only, upon the payment by the applicant to the clerk of the district court of one hundred dollars, if a shopkeeper or peddler, to be paid annually, and ten dollars if a mechanic, or to engage in any other trade.

Sec. 79. Leases of a house or land to a person of color shall be in writing. If there be no written lease, or the term of the lease shall have expired, a person of color in possession shall be a tenant at will, and shall not be entitled to notice; and on complaint by any person interested to the judge of the district court or a magistrate such person of color shall be instantly ejected by order or warrant, unless he produce a written lease authorizing his possession, or prove that such writting existed and was lost.

Afro-Americans in close Congressional districts should work hard to elect Republican Congressmen. We cannot afford to lose a single district. A Republican Congress is needed to uphold a Republican President.

The Democratic South has already disfranchised the Afro-American. Now many prominent Democrats in the North and West as well as in the South, favor the repeal of the fifteenth amendment.

About 500,000 Afro-American young men will be eligible to cast their first presidential votes in November, and if they are wise they'll begin life right by voting the Republican ticket.

President Taft stands for the higher education of the Afro-American people.

ROOSEVELT'S HOSTILITY TO THE AFRO-AMERICAN.

Southern Colored Delegates to the Roosevelt Convention at Chicago Barred by His Order. Color Line Sharply Drawn. The Boasted Open Door Now Closed.

LINCOLN ENFRANCHISED US; ROOSEVELT DISFRANCHISED US, SAID ONE COLORED DELEGATE.

Like Slaveholders of Old Days Before the War, Said, When Asked About Holding Men in Bondage, Roosevelt Said, "It is For Their Own Good."

I.

Theodore Roosevelt, in a letter to Julian Harris of Atlanta, written a few days before the Roosevelt convention at Chicago, made it plain that the Roosevelt party would have two distinct policies on the race question—one for Afro-Americans in the North and an entirely different policy for the race in the South, whose votes, where they have any, can do his party no good.

Colored men from the South, he intimated, would be unwelcome, if not barred as delegates to the Bull Moose National Convention. Colored delegates, however, would be welcomed and recognized as on an equal footing with white men in those states where the party, by the aid of Afro-American ballots stands a chance to win. Venality in Republican National Conventions for many years was charged against the Southern Negro. He declared there is no real Republican party in the South and that colored delegates selected represented nothing more than their own greed for money or office.

II.

When the Roosevelt convention met in Chicago, August 5, the programme as laid down by Roosevelt was carried out to the letter and colored delegates from the South were barred for no other reason than the color of their skins.

P. W. Howard, one of the colored delegates, in voicing his protest said:

''Now we are told that for political expediency the colored man is not to be recognized in the South. We are told that Theodore Roosevelt is a second Lincoln. Lincoln was the man who enfranchised us, but this committee acting in the name of Theodore Roosevelt, now seeks to disfranchise us. We are told that we are not wanted, not because we are not good citizens, not because we are not Progressives, but because we are colored.'' Many other colored delegates protested against the color line being drawn, but all of the colored delegates from the South were barred from the convention by order of Roosevelt.

III.

Col. Roosevelt during his ''confession of faith'' in the convention August 6, was heckled by a spectator, who interrupted him with the demand: ''What about the Negro question?'' Roosevelt proceeded at length to state his views on the race question, upholding his action in barring the Southern colored delegates and stating that he did it for their own good.

IV.

In an interview given out by Theodore Roosevelt, at Oyster Bay, August 10, he admits that his party faced a monentary crisis in Chicago over the color problem. ''I felt,'' said the Colonel, ''that the time had come to put a party in the field that was unsullied by the taint of the vicious, selfish type of black. When I got to Chicago, I found that we were on the verge of the breaking point because of the stand I had taken. I was advised that it was wrong to attempt any discrimination at all against the blacks. To these well-meaning people I replied that the new party had to face the problem of holding out against the type of colored men who stood for nothing in our political life but selfish office seeking, who fastened himself to the party for what he could get out of it. * * * * I told them we're to leave it to the Southern States, as our party advanced, to determine what colored men ought to be allowed in and whom we were to exclude. * * * * After serious conference there in Chicago, those who had opposed me came to see that it was right and we took a solid stand in the convention * * * * We are sure to attract to our cause men who believe that the black can best be helped by putting him on his own honor. * * * * I felt that as the leader of the Progressive party I must take the initiative in the race problem.''

The so-called Progressive convention which met in Chicago, August 5, was absolutely dominated by Theodore Roosevelt and the barring of the Southern colored delegates was done by his explicit command.

He was willing to bar the Southern colored man because already he is practically disfranchised and his vote does not count anyway, but was careful to welcome the colored delegates from the states in which colored men were permitted to vote and whose votes would be likely to aid the Bull Moose party. Would Abraham Lincoln, with whom he is wont to compare himself have resorted to such political expediency?

Is it true as Roosevelt says, that Southern colored men are vicious and venal? The facts in the case prove to the contrary.

A large proportion of the really great men of the race, men who labored earnestly and unselfishly for the uplift of the Afro-American people were born in the South.

The delegates to the Republican National Convention at Chicago in June, were men of the highest character, men who raised the race in the esteem of the world, by their firm stand for President Taft, for whom they were instructed, in spite of the fact that Roosevelt's agents offered many and strong inducements for them to barter their honor.

The Southern colored delegates to the Roosevelt convention were men of high standing in their respective communities, but they were barred from participation in the convention, not because they were venal and vicious but solely on account of color.

A large majority of the Afro-Americans, President Taft has honored by appointments to office, were born in the South. They have administered their offices honestly and efficiently, with credit to themselves and honor to their race. Many of these men have been prominent in the Republican party in the South. Does Mr. Roosevelt mean that these men are venal and vicious?

Before the war of the rebellion, it was a common thing for the slaveholders to say that the slaves were kept in bondage ''for their own good,'' and now comes Col. Roosevelt and uses the same argument in defending his highhanded action in depriving colored men of representation in his convention. And Roosevelt would leave to each individual Southern state ''to determine what colored men ought to be allowed in and whom to exclude.'' How great the contrast between this statement and his ''Door of Hope'' letter.

Theodore Roosevelt by his stand in the race question in the formation of his new party is revealed as one of the most dangerous foes the Afro-American people has ever had in this country.

Would Oppose Bills Compelling Negroes to Educate Children.

In the Alabama Legislature when a compulsory education law was being discussed, Senator Thomas said he would oppose any bills that would compel Negroes to educate their children, for it had come to his knowledge that Negroes would give the clothing off their backs to send their children to school, while too often the white man, secure in his supremacy, would be indifferent to his duty.

Tillman's Talk.

''If a white man comes to vote, we ask him if he can read—if not, there is a provision of the law which makes a voter of a man who can understand a clause of the Constitution, and such a white man gets a simple little clause— as simple as ''Mary had a little lamb.'' But when the Negro comes along—well, if I was on the board he'd get the most involved clause in the whole Constitution. 'I can't understand that,' he says. 'All right, trot back to the cotton field.' And that's the end of it.''

Mr. Emmett J. Scott, who was appointed Commissioner to Liberia by President Taft has written a monograph, ''Is Liberia Worth Saving?'' which gives many interesting facts about the country and is a strong defense of the Liberians.

ROOSEVELT REPUDIATED.

Afro-American Newspapers All Over the United States Bitterly Resent the Colonel's Attempt to Disfranchise the Race. No Self-Respecting Man Can Support the Bull Moose Candidate. Will Stick to Republican Party.

Should Vote for Taft.

Those Republicans who prefer the election of a Democrat may join the Bull Moose party and vote for Roosevelt, but if they wish to perpetuate Republican principles they should vote for Taft.—American Baptist, Louisville, Ky.

Defeat Surely Awaits It.

We are as much as told that the Bull Moose party is a white man's party. Let it be such; for we believe that defeat surely awaits it.—Western Outlook, San Francisco, Cal.

Afro-American's Hat Kicked Out of Ring.

Colonel Roosevelt by his Progressive party seeks to arouse race animosities and race hatred? It does not seem so if such a policy as he has adopted is carried out. This paper cannot endorse the Progressive party and the erratic doctrines it typifies in its platform. The Afro-American's hat is kicked out of the ring so far as the Progressive party is concerned.—Philadelphia Courant.

A Step Toward Complete Disfranchisement.

Colonel Roosevelt's position is a long step toward the complete disfranchisement of the colored man in this counrty. Any man who cannot realize this has a dull conception and a blunt intellect.—The Richmond (Va.) Planet.

Stands for Repeal of War Amendments.

A few years ago he was preaching political "equality" and a "square deal" for the Negro. To-day he practically stands for the disfranchisement of the Negro ,and the ultimate repeal of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution.—Independent, Denver, Col.

Would be Unworthy if We Deserted the Republican Party.

No political party has ever succeeded that was brought into existence for the benefit of one race. No political party can succeed that is not possessed of some heighth and breadth of principles. To desert the Republican party, which has done so much for our race would make us more than derelict, and unworthy of enjoying what this party has done for us.—The American, Wagoner, Okla.

We Must Dispose of Roosevelt in November.

Any colored man who will vote for Theodore Roosevelt after his Chicago action ought to be disfranchised. We must dispose of Roosevelt in November, and we call upon every colored man in this country to rise up in the dignity of your power and help retire to private life, once and for all this big wind jammer, who is going up and down the country sowing seeds of discord in a peaceful nation.—The Rhode Island Independent.

A White Man's Party.

The Bull Moose third party that was placed on the tablet of ice this week at Chicago, with Colonel Roosevelt as the big chunk, declared by their refusal to allow Negro delegates to have seats in this Convention that it was a white man's party.—Zanesville (Ohio) Advocate.

Self-Respecting Men Will Resent Insult.

Of course, a few preachers and political bishops and other mercenary professionals, who are out for a tainted dollar, will boot-lick and follow him, but the manly men, the self-respecting men, the manhood of the race, will resent the Colonel's insinuation and insult, and will vote the Democratic ticket before they will support Theodore Roosevelt.—The Atlanta Independent, Atlanta, Ga.

Roosevelt's Amazing Utterance.

The most amazing utterance ever made in the United States by a public man of commanding position in politics was the speech which Roosevelt delivered before the Progressive Tuesday. In short, it means that he wishes to change our form of government through revolutoin.—The Enterprise, Omaha, Neb.

Will Be Repudiated by Every Self-Respecting Negro.

His thin-veiled scheme to "catch 'em gwine and comin' " will deceive nobody but the fellow who wants to be fooled, and will be repudiated by every self-respecting Negro in this country. Senator Lafollette never spoke a greater truth than when he said Theodore Roosevelt is an opportunist, a policy man. He will go down in history as the most reckless political trickster of the twentieth century.—The Torchlight, Danville, Ky.

Bull Moose Party Progressing Backward.

The Bull Moose party of Progressives seem to be progressing backward, as far as the Afro-Americans' interests are concerned. The Colorado Statesman voices the sentiments of the leading colored citizens of Colorado when it says that we are satisfied with the Republican ticket, led by President Taft, who has made good, and is worthy of our support.—The Colorado Statesman.

Will Bitterly Resent Exclusion of the Race.

Colonel Roosevelt and his third party will find that the Afro-American in the North and West resents bitterly the exclusion of his Southern brother from that party.—St. Louis Argus.

The White Man's Party.

It is not too much to say that the moral sentiment of the nation has been shocked, as it has not been since the delivery of Chief Justice Taney of the Dred Scott decision, in 1856, that "it is held to be good law and precedent that the black man has no rights that the white man is bound to respect." It has been shocked by a reaffirmation of the sentiment by a former President of the Republic, in an open letter to Julian Harris, of Georgia, and by the endorsement of the sentiment by the National Convention of the Progressive party because Col. Roosevelt insisted upon its adoption, that the Progressive pary is a White Man's party, in which a black man has no rights that a white man is bound to respect.—New York Age.

Most Treacherous Act in American Politics

The wholesale and drastic denunciation of the Colored men of the South in politics by Theodore Roosevelt when he finally could not use them is not only a most damaging act, but one of the most treacherous and contemptible in the annals of American politics. Colored Americans cannot trust so revengeful and treacherous a man. The denunciation is an act of hostility to the whole race. Let us all resent it.—Boston Guardian.

Afro-Americans Ruthlessly Barred.

Colored men are ruthlessly barred from the councils of the party. The declaration that the colored man is to be given recognition is a poor and transparent makeshift. How can this recognition come except by a process of favortism on the part of the white voter is hard even to be imagined.—The Reformer, Durham, N. C.

Roosevelt Seeking Cheap Popularity.

The colored brother that can find any consolation in Col. Roosevelt's "confession of faith," is indeed far sighted. To our mind the Colonel is seeking cheap popularity in his line up against the race, but he will find on election day that the southern white people are not as changeable as he, and that he has not received an electoral vote from this section.—The Reporter, Staunton, Va.

Colored Men "Must Go Away Back and Sit Down."

The Negroes of the South have been practically eliminated from future conventions of the progressive party, for "bull moose" Roosevelt has said that "They must go away back and sit down" as he would not let Negro delegates from the South sit in his progressive convention.—The Citizen, Spokane, Washington.

Roosevelt's Recall Down in Georgia.

At present the progressive idea is rampant. The "initiative, referendum and recall" are words often spoken by the politicians and being used to tickle the ear of many, especially the thoughtless. The recall of it was beautifully illustrated in Columbus, Ga., on Tuesday when a mob entered the court house, took a small colored boy from the officers after he was sentenced to imprisonment by the judge and lynched him. The mob was displeased at the decision of the judge, therefore the same was recalled.—Savannah, (Ga.) Tribune.

Lincoln's Prophecy Fulfilled.

Fifty or more years ago Abraham Lincoln issued a warning that will fit into the situation of to-day, and this is what he said: "A man with great genius and ambition will arise whose chief aim will be distinction. He will push his ambition to its farthest stretch. He may use his ambition for good, but he may attempt to tear down the republic. The people should be on their guard against him." No truer prophecy was ever made. The time and the man are at hand, and Lincoln's warning to the people to be on their guard against him should ring from every housetop before it is too late.—The Topeka (Kan.) Plaindealer.

Colored Men Not Wanted.

The attitude of the National Progressive party toward the Negroes of the South in a measure proves this. We tried to advise the colored men here to stand still and wait until they found out whether they were wanted before they went too far, but it seemed that they were bent on "butting in" were told that they were not wanted.—Interstate Reporter, Helena, Ark.

Colored Men Given the Marble Heart.

Colonel Roosevelt has ordered it that his new party shall be a white man's party. Consequently, Negro would-be Moosers from the South were given the marble heart at the national convention in Chicago this week. With both the Democratic and Progressive parties opposing him, ther remains nothing for the Negro to do but to support Mr. Taft.—Recorder, Seely, Texas.

Fraught With Too Much Danger.

It would be risking a chance fraught with too much danger to American industries and our sacred institutions for the American people to swing away from the Republican party to a new, inexperienced, untried organization, such as the Progressive party sets itself to be. There is too much involved to do such a thing at this time and under the circumstances. The American people have made their greatest strides forward in the last fifty years, and it has been the Republican party to which they have looked and on which they have depended for wise legislation, for wholesome laws and for protection to all of their large, varied commercial, industrial and other interests.—The Western Star, Houston and Dallas, Texas.

Stream Can Not Rise Higher Than Source.

It is claimed that a stream can rise no higher than its source; therefore, it is doubtful whether the enthused delegates in the Progressive convention will ever rise any higher than its source—Colonel Theodore Roosevelt. Thus it is evident from the very beginning that one need not hope to find evidences of honesty in politics from his new party.—Philadelphia Tribune.

How Do They Feel Now.

How do the Negroes who have been yelling themselves hoarse for Teddy feel about their idol now?—Lexington Weekly News.

THE REAL ROOSEVELT

Rev. Reverdy C. Ransom on His Former Friend, Theodore Roosevelt, at Anti-Roosevelt Meeting at Bethel A. M. E. Church, New York City.

"When Col. Roosevelt's Convention adjourned, I felt like one feels when he is returning from the cemetery after having buried a cherished friend. For had he not buried there our hopes, which he had raised so high, acting both as executioner, undertaker and officiating priest?"

"His promises are as unstable as water; his covenant with the people is a mask for personal ambition; his doctrines are used as beautiful traps to catch the noble, earnest and inspiring, but unsuspecting. He would make the Constitution easy of amendment, while openly advocating the nullification of the Fifteenth Amendment. He has proven faithless and the fight is on."

"I can truthfully say that this action by Col. Roosevelt has caused me more pain and deep sorrow of heart than I have ever felt over the most revolting public outrage. When Col. Roosevelt struck the death knell to our hopes it dazed me like the stupefying stroke of a brutal blow. All through his Chicago convention I hoped against hope, that wise and righteous counsel would prevail."

"I joined the large and representative body of colored men who went to the Republican National Convention to work for Roosevelt's nomination because I believed that his 'square deal,' his 'door of hope,' his 'all men up and not some down,' and the other catch phrases in his verbal repertoire were honestly meant to apply to black men as well as white. We were not disturbed by the third term outcry against him. What we want is just and equal treatment in this nation."

"There is no need for Mr. Roosevelt's party in the South to exclude the Negro from politics and let 'the best white people' rule. The Democratic party has been attending to that business quite effectively for more than thirty years. There are no other white people in the South to whom he can appeal than these same white people who have already eliminated the Negro from politics. Will changing their party affiliations change their character? Or did they experience a change of heart at his Chicago convention? Did they all 'come through' when his convention adjourned with a shout, and have they received the spirit of brotherhood since they believed?"

"Mr. Roosevelt would have us believe that he is following in the footsteps of Lincoln. Let us see: Lincoln emancipated us from physical slavery and invoked upon his act the blessing of Almighty God and the considerate judgment of mankind. Roosevelt has delivered us into political slavery, and invokes upon his act the consideration of Mr. Julian Harris, the division of the Southern white vote and the patient subjection of the Negroes to their political thraldom. When Lincoln would save the nation. he armed the Negro to fight for the preservation of the Union and for his own freedom. When Roosevelt would save the nation from the foes that he declares threaten its destruction, he would disarm the Negro of the ballot, the only effective weapon with which he may fight either for the salvation of his country or his own protection. Lincoln, as a man of Southern lineage, knew that the South, left to itself, would never emancipate the slaves and resisted the extension of the borders of slavery; Roosevelt, as a man of Southern lineage, knows the South, left to itself. will never voluntarily put the ballot in the Negroes' hands and will seek everywhere his exclusion from participation in the Government, yet he proclaims the one and invites the other."

"Mr. Roosevelt neither created nor inspired the movement which in this country he assumes to direct and control as his own personal property, subject to the exigencies of his personal fortunes. This new sense of humanity, of human relations in organized society; this movement for industrial, social and political justice, is manifesting itself in England and on the Continent of Europe, under the leadership of men and women whose wisdom, singleness of purpose and uncompromising devotion to their ideals he would do well to imitate. Here is a new party which proclaims 'the right of the people to rule;' which proposes to devote itself to the cause of political and social justice. Yet, when it comes to deal with the Negroes, the people who suffer most from oppression. the people whose men, women and children are the most defenseless victims and the greatest sufferers from social and political injustice, Col. Roosevelt, the chief and leader of the herd, lifts his head, waves his antlers high in the air, and sounds the call, and the 'Bull Moose Party' runs amuck on the Negro question. Col. Theodore Roosevelt has no more right to take great truths for which noble men and women have toiled and suffered and seek to make their realization of local application, than he has to suspend the operation of the Ten Commandments toward a given class."

"Mr. Roosevelt would assure us that he is not discriminating against us as a race, from the fact that Northern Negroes will not be excluded from the councils of his party, that is to say, the Negro may join his party in those States where he may still exercise the right to vote. But the Southern Negro must be excluded because he is 'venal,' 'the tool of unscrupulous white men,' etc. Mr. Roosevelt has had enough dealings with colored men to know. as he does know, that the Northern Negro is not one whit better than the Southern Negro, either in patriotism, character, wealth or intelligence. If Maryland, West Virginia or Missouri should enact a disfranchising law, then, according to Roosevelt, the Negroes in those States are to be excluded from his party. If Mr. Roosevelt thinks that self-respecting Negroes will submit to this monstrous outrage, let me remind him that there are millions in our race who still possess the same fighting spirit and courage that saved his ungrateful life when he was a soldier in Cuba. Would the leader of any party in Great Britian dare make such a proposal to the Irish? If Theodore Roosevelt came from the Holy Hill of Zion instead of Sagamore Hill, he would still know that he was a deceiver masquerading in the garments of a saint of light, and spurning his proposals, we would refuse to follow him."

DESERTED BY ROOSEVELT.

The Evening Post a Great New York Daily Newspaper Shows the Hypicrisy and Duplicity of the Colonel in Dealing With the Afro-American.

(From the Issue of August 8)

Mr. Roosevelt had his way in Chicago. Despite the protests of Jane Addams and many others, the party of "progress," which bases its hopes for succes on its programme of social justice, committed the injustice of throwing out the negro delegates from the South, declaring for a "lily-white" policy there, and adopted its platform without a single reference of any kind to the colored man. The terrible injustice done him the country over; the denial of civic and political rights guaranteed to him; his practically complete disfranchisement in the South—all of these things were forgotten because the apostle of justice himself hopes, with what Jane Addams herself called "statesmanlike (?) policy," to break up the solid South. So the Negroes, even those who worked for Roosevelt in the Taft Convention, were flung aside—just as he would fling aside any body or set of men when it served his purpose to do so. The Jews, themselves, to whom he has toadied and whom he has flattered by high appointments, he would discard as readily as he has Mr. Taft, Mr. Root, and his other tried friends and Cabinet associates, should there be political profit to be gained by taking an anti-Semitic position. If there is any one group of men and women in this country suffering from oppression, it is the colored people; but the party of social justice is to think only of wrongs done to whites!

Undoubtedly, Mr. Roosevelt is certain that before the campaign is far along he will win back the disaffected negroes.

Yet we cannot think this so likely this time; for there is increasing independence of thought among the educated colored people and a growing realization of their latent political power.

That the whole episode will embitter the unhappy lot of the negroes of this country, let no one doubt. It is difficult for those who are enfranchised and socially free to realize how terrible the burden this race bears: how staggering the handicaps, and how helpless it is without the ballot to rectify its wrongs. Two recent happenings in the South are especially ominous.

In Mooresville, N. C., a self-respecting colored carpenter bought real estate some years ago in a decent section of the city; when he began to build his own house in it this spring the City Council passed an ordinance forbidding it. In Greensville, N. C., two brothers were prevented by a segregation ordinance from purchasing a $65,000 piece of property they had contracted for. The representatives of Anglo-Saxon culture who owned the property refused to return the $150 paid for the purchase-option on the ground that the brothers had broken their contract!

In Georgia, last June, Anne Bostwick, a negress who had been previously declared insane, killed the white woman who employed her. She was shot to death by a mob of white men, defenders of Anglo-Saxon superiority. It is, of course, impossible for the colored population to hold the officials responsible or to participate in the election of others who will uphold them in their constitutional rights as to the owning of property or guarantee them the protection of the law when accused of crime. They are helpless and hopeless, for they are without remedy. And the Progressive party, according to its leaders, says that, because there have been venal negro delegates at Republican conventions in the past (by whose votes he has hitherto been only too glad to profit), this oppressed race shall have no representatives in the party of social justice!

A distinguished Russian professor, recently visiting in this country, on learning that ten millions of people suffer all the hardships of both the Russian peasant and the Russian Jew, exclaimed: "Heavens, how can they stand it?" The answer is that they must not stand it. Mr. Roosevelt's falsity to them will be of genuine value if it but stimulates them to further efforts in their own behalf, and strengthens their growing determination to stand as a solid phalanx on behalf of their rights—life and liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Hot Language from Texas.

Roosevelt has played h—l with the Negro at the Bull Moose convention. The Colonel has betrayed us. He frankly entrusts the movement to the "best white men of the South."—Plaindealer, Palestine, Texas.

What Will the Colored Mooseities Do.

Now that the Bull Moose Convention is over and the colored man has been put in the back yard what will the colored Moosecites do? They didn't pull as they thought with the Big Moose.—Progress, Boley, Oklahoma.

Roosevelt Swallows His Own Words.

Behold the man who has posed as the Afro-American's best friend! The man who has addressed them in their churches and assured them that it was he who would give them a square deal. In his declaration he swallows his own words and repudiates his own past. We could not expect any more from the rankest Southern Democrat. We hope our brethren in the border States of the North—Maryland, West Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana and any others where they hold the balance of power—will not assist Colonel Roosevelt in building up a white man's Progressive party in the South and a black and white man's party in the north. Let him accept the Afro-American vote universally or not at all.—The Reformer, Richmond, Va.

For Copies of This Pamphlet Apply to

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

The Times Building
New York City.

Auditorium Hotel
Chicago, Ill.

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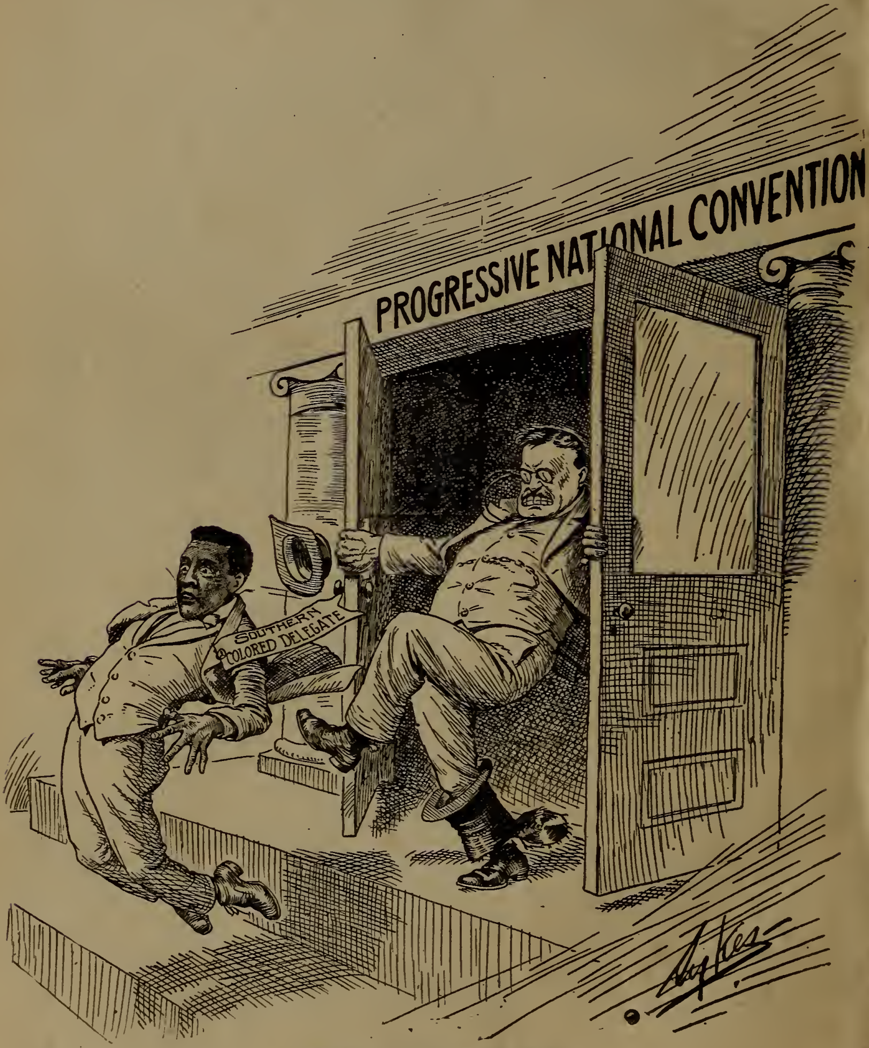
THE DOOR OF HOPE—1902

"I cannot consent to take the position that the door of hope—the door of opportunity—is to be shut upon any man, no matter how worthy, purely upon the ground of race or color."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

TEN YEARS LATER—1912

"It would be much worse than useless to try to build up the Progressive party in these Southern States, where there is no real Republican party, by appealing to the Negroes or to the men who in the past have derived their sole standing from leading and manipulating the Negroes."—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.


PROGRESSIVE NATIONAL CONVENTION
SOUTHERN COLORED DELEGATE
Sykes

THE OPEN DOOR

Adapted from the Philadelphia Ledger.

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